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DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

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DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

By

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ABSTRACT

The basis of modern written Arabic is the language of the grammars, the standard dictionaries, and the classical literature. This language has been considerably influenced during the past century and a half by contacts with modern Western civilization. On the one hand these contacts have augmented and accelerated the normal processes of linguistic change and resulted in a number of modifications of the Arabic language. On the other hand these modifications have in turn aroused widespread interest in and concern with their language on the part of the Arabic-speaking peoples and led to the emergence of a group of reformers the majority of whom wish to reject the changes of the past hundred and fifty years and return to the Arabic of the first few centuries of Islam as the basis for developing a language suited to present-day needs. The interaction of these two essentially antagonistic forces has produced a language that differs from classical Arabic principally in its vocabulary and to a lesser extent in its grammar, idiom, and orthography and that is now capable of meeting most of the demands of contemporary life.

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PREFACE

For the purposes of the present discussion, "modern Arabic" is taken to mean the written Arabic language as it has developed during the past century or century and a half. It is further limited to include only the language of the periodical press, scholarly journals, and books of serious intent. Such a definition excludes the various dialects of the spoken language and also excludes arbitrarily all of Arabic literature from its beginnings before Islam up to about the end of the eighteenth century.

This treatment of modern Arabic is further limited in that it deals almost exclusively with the language of Egypt and the countries to the east and north of Egypt and does not attempt to discuss the development of modern Arabic in the Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa.

The term "Arab" is used to mean one whose first language is Arabic. It is also used, in the phrases "the Arab countries" and "the Arab world", to refer to those countries whose principal language is Arabic.

This work is intended to be a discussion and description of the modern Arabic language as a whole, and not merely

of those parts of it that have come into being since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Throughout the paper, therefore, and especially in Chapters VII and VIII, the fact that a word is cited as an example of modern usage should (unless otherwise indicated) be taken as implying merely that it is used in the modern language and not necessarily that it is of recent origin.

ABBREVIATIONS

References to the following journals have been abbreviated in the text:

BEO	-	Bulletin d'Études Orientales
BIE	-	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BSOS	-	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
JRAS	-	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
LA	-	لغة العرب
Mahḍar	-	Minutes of the meetings of the Academy of the Arabic Language (... محضر الجلسة)
MEJ	-	Middle East Journal
MSOS	-	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen
MW	-	Moslem World
OM	-	Oriente Moderno
RAAD	-	مجلة المجمع العلمي العربي
RALA	-	مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية
REI	-	Revue des Études Islamiques
RMM	-	Revue du Monde Musulman
RSO	-	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
ZDMG	-	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

The names of other periodicals referred to have been cited in full.

DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

Chapter I

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN ARABIC

History affords a number of examples of a civilization's being radically and basically changed either by the development of some new trait or traits within itself or as a result of contact with a foreign culture or through a combination of these circumstances. Such periods of metamorphosis may alter not only the outward physical aspects of a civilization but often also its system of political and economic management, its social and family organization, and the habits, beliefs, attitudes, and language of its people. It is just such a far-reaching series of changes that has been taking place in the Arabic-speaking countries since early in the nineteenth century.

Influence of Western Civilization. The impact of modern Western civilization upon the Arab world has had a number of features which enhance its interest for the historian, the anthropologist, and the philologist, and which set it apart somewhat from other examples of the effects of inter-cultural influences. One of the most obvious of these differences, and perhaps the most important for the purposes of this discussion, is that this has not been the impact of

an advanced and complex civilization upon a primitive one. At the time of its first contacts with modern Western civilization the Arab world, it is true, had for some centuries been in a state of intellectual torpor. Its cultural and social organization, however, far from being recent emergents from a state of primitive barbarism, were not only the heirs of a long and illustrious history but were themselves tremendously complex and well developed.

From this fact arises a second characteristic of the period of change through which the Arab countries have been going during the past century and a half, and one which has had a considerable effect upon the Arabic language. This is that simultaneously with the introduction and adoption of modern Western civilization there has been a deliberate effort to return to and recreate some aspects of the past history of the Arabic-speaking peoples, especially those connected with literature, language and political organization. This effort to adopt the new and at the same time revive the old has perhaps been the source of a number of the divisive forces at work in the Arab world today. It has brought with it on the one hand jealous local nationalisms on the European pattern and on the other hand a

desire to recreate the unified Arab empire of old; on the one hand the introduction of large numbers of new words and expressions into the language, and on the other hand efforts to revive the classical Arabic language and preserve it unchanged.

A third characteristic that distinguishes this period from other eras of profound cultural change is that we can say with considerable exactness just where, when, and how this vast series of changes was set in motion. In many instances of change from one type of civilization to another or from one predominant pattern of culture to another, the transition has been gradual and its beginnings imperceptible. Of the changes which the Arab world has undergone, however, it can be said with some certainty that they began in 1798 with the invasion and occupation of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte, who brought with him not only a military force but also an accomplished group of scientists and scholars as well as the Arabic printing press he had taken from the Vatican. Quite possibly the cultural importance of the French occupation has been exaggerated. Certainly it made no immediate or profound impression on the social or intellectual life of the Arab countries. It would perhaps be a

more accurate and more realistic appraisal of its effects to say that its importance lay in the fact that incidentally it resulted in the appearance in Egypt and subsequent rise to power of Muḥammad 'Alī. It was Muḥammad 'Alī who, first among the rulers of the Arab countries, realized that these countries might benefit from certain facets of European culture and who, through his position of absolute power in Egypt, was able to undertake a systematic and energetic campaign of borrowing from Western civilization.¹ At any rate, the French conquest and occupation offer a convenient and in many respects valid date for the beginning of the Westernization of the Arab countries.

In addition, the Arab world, if not unique, is at least unusual for both the scope and the depth of the changes which it has undergone as a result of contact with a foreign culture. The outward changes that have affected the appearance of the people, of their dress, and of their cities, and the alteration of their economic life through the introduction

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1. Among the many attempts to appraise the cultural effects of this period see, for example, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, تاريخ الترجمة والحركة الثقافية في عصر محمد علي (Cairo, 1951) and J. Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translations under Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt: the Foundation of Modern Arabic," JRAS 1940: 325-349.

of the railroad, the automobile, and the airplane are of course most obvious. The changes have been deeper than this, however. The example and influence of the West have altered the political organization of the Arab world and have introduced new concepts of government and administration. The West too has introduced the Arab world to modern science, giving it not only the products of this science (the airplane, the radio, and the electric light) and the vast areas of newly discovered factual knowledge upon which it is based, but also an understanding and appreciation of its basic ideas and methods.

The influence of Western civilization, furthermore, has altered many of the most basic and personal habits, customs, and attitudes of the people of the Arab countries. It has given them new ways of using their leisure. Through the radio, the motion picture, the daily newspaper, and new methods of education it has given them a broader knowledge of the rest of mankind and new ideas (or doubts) about such things as the position of women, the importance of religion, and the function of the family.

Finally, these developments, following from the introduction of modern Western civilization and accompanied by

the simultaneous attempt to return to and revive the glories of medieval Arab civilization, have inevitably wrought considerable changes in the Arabic language during the past century and a half.

Effects upon the Language. A number of factors have operated to bring about these changes in the Arabic language. Contact with the new industrial civilization of the West has introduced the Arab countries not only to the major inventions such as the telegraph, the steam engine, and the automobile but also to a large number of less spectacular objects affecting the every-day life of individuals, such as new styles of clothing, new kinds of furniture, and so forth. At the same time, the increase and spread of education has introduced these countries to new or unfamiliar ideas and attitudes and concepts. Words have been needed to describe and discuss all these new objects and ideas, and the provision of these words by one means or another has had a considerable effect on the vocabulary of Arabic.

The spread of education and literacy, furthermore, has made many more people familiar with the so-called "correct" or "classical" language and thus helped to raise the general standard of written Arabic. At the same time too,

education, much of it conducted in foreign languages, has had the effect of introducing a number of foreign words and constructions into the Arabic language.

Along with education, the spread of publishing and the rise of the periodical press (and later the radio and cinema) have not only increased public familiarity with the classical language but have also tended to some extent to standardize vocabulary and pronunciation.²

Finally, the language has been very considerably affected by translations of European books, which have formed one of the main avenues for introduction of Western civilization into the Arab world. A very large number of foreign works were translated into Arabic during the 1800s, and in fact translations perhaps outnumbered the original works in Arabic published during much of the nineteenth century.³ The process of translation inevitably had the effect of introducing foreign words and meanings into Arabic and of

2. The influence of the radio on the modern development of the language is discussed by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, الراديو وأثره في نشر اللغة, RAAD 16(1941): 23-28, and نقد لغة الراديو, RAAD 18(1943): 275-276.

3. A writer in al-Muqtataf in 1890 comments: نحن في زمان قل فيه التصنيف وكثر التعريب فكم من كتاب عربي يؤسم بأنه تأليف وما هو الا مترجم او مخلص من كتاب افرنجي Al-Muqtataf 15(1890-91):269.

affecting the idiom and style of the language. As a result, one finds Arabic words used today with meanings they never had before the nineteenth century and combinations of words that would have seemed strange or even meaningless to an eighteenth century reader.⁴

Dissatisfaction with the Language. With the spread of education and the increase in the publication of books, the cumulative effect of these changes in the language soon became apparent. Editors, authors, and scholars began to become aware that considerable numbers of foreign words and expressions, chiefly Turkish and European, were entering into use in Arabic. 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, for instance, quoted with distaste the following sample of late nineteenth century prose:⁵

بناءً على الكونتراتو الماخوذ بفرمتكم بمقد اتفاق بينكم وبين بنك
الخواجات فلان بشحن الواهورات تعلق القومانية الشرقية عند
وقوفها بالمرلص ورمي الهلب وتفرغ شحنها باتفاقكم مع القومندان
عند ما يتراكي على الجمرك يلزم ان تقدموا الدبوزيتو اللازمة
بادارة الفنارات للمعاملة بموجبها .

4. For a history of the translation movement, with some discussion of its effects on the language, see Jacques Tājir, حركة الترجمة بمصر خلال القرن التاسع عشر (Cairo, 1945), as well as the works by Heyworth-Dunne and al-Shayyāl already cited.

The example is perhaps exaggerated, but al-Nadīm's use of it serves at least to illustrate the alarm with which writers of the second half of the nineteenth century viewed the obvious changes taking place in their language.

One reason for the influx of foreign words into Arabic was, of course, that the language was being called upon to describe and discuss scores or hundreds of objects and ideas which were new or unfamiliar to the people of the Arab countries and for which no Arabic words were available. The vocabulary of Arabic was undoubtedly a very rich one, as its defenders have stated again and again, pointing to its "1000 words for sword" and "500 words for lion". Unfortunately, however, this large vocabulary did not include words for the new objects and ideas of modern civilization, and the tendency was very often to adopt the foreign word along with the object or concept for which it stood.

Quite apart from the influx of foreign words, it also became apparent that the standard of Arabic being written throughout the Arabic-speaking world during much of the nineteenth century was deplorably low. Jurjī Zaidān, for

5. [Al-Nadīm], اللغة، الإنشاء، al-Ustādh 1(8) (11 October 1892): 169-184.

example, describes the state of the language in the early years of the century by saying:⁶

ما زالت الركّة تتوالى على الانشاء العربي . . . وكثرت الالفاظ
العامية والدخيلة . . . هذا ما يقال من حيث التراكيب واما
الالفاظ فقد كثر فيها الدخيل والمولّد . . .

and the situation worsened during the century as the influence of foreign languages increased. Many of those who were considered literate were in fact incapable of writing correct classical Arabic. Not only was their vocabulary heavily laden with foreign words, but many had only a rudimentary knowledge of the fine points of classical Arabic syntax and their writing was much influenced by colloquial grammar and vocabulary.

The Language Reform Movement. During roughly the fifty years from 1825 to 1875 the awareness of these facts led to a feeling of increasing dissatisfaction with their language on the part of educated Arab writers. With the rise and expansion of the Arabic periodical press from about 1875, this feeling of dissatisfaction and concern was reinforced and became more widespread. Not only did the new periodicals, through their choice of subject matter, make

6. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية (Cairo, 1904), pp. 45-46.

even more obvious the inadequacies of the language, but they reached a far larger audience than private correspondence among educated people could ever have reached. For the first time, therefore, men of letters were able to publish their views about the state of the language, to see their own misgivings about its probable future confirmed by the opinions of others, and to discuss with one another the steps to be taken to halt the rapid decline and eventual disappearance of the Arabic language.

This was the start of the movement for a reform of the Arabic language. Gaining added support as a result of the increase of literacy, and reinforced by the growth of the spirit of Arab nationalism, the movement has gathered strength and continued to the present day. Since the last decades of the nineteenth century almost every issue of the various "scientific and literary" journals has, briefly or at length, argued some aspect of the language question; Government support has been gained for the movement; and numbers of learned societies have been formed with the main object of rescuing the Arabic language from its decline and decay and apparently imminent demise.

Chapter II

ATTEMPTS TO MODERNIZE VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR

The various suggestions that have been made for reforming the Arabic language and remedying the defects that became increasingly apparent in the latter part of the nineteenth century may, for the sake of simplification, be reduced to three proposals: (1) that classical Arabic be discarded altogether and one of the modern European languages adopted in its place as the language of education and learning, (2) that spoken Arabic be used for all writing and the present written or classical language relegated to a status like that of Latin or classical Greek, and (3) that the vocabulary, grammar, and alphabet of written Arabic be reformed, simplified, and modernized so that the language will become capable of filling all the needs of present-day life without having any of its essential characteristics altered.

Classical vs. Colloquial. The first of these proposals has usually been mentioned only for the sake of argument and immediately dismissed as both impracticable and undesirable.¹ The second alternative, that written Arabic be

1. See, for example, [Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf], اللغة العربية والنجاح , al-Muqtataf 6(1881-82): 352-354, reprinted in 27 (1902): 187-189.

replaced by the spoken language, has had a number of supporters, especially during the early years of the language reform movement², but by now has been largely discredited and discarded. Its proponents have based their arguments largely on the disadvantages of having to use two distinct varieties of Arabic: one for speaking and another for reading and writing. They have objected to the fact that the Arabic-speaking student must devote a large part of his time and effort not to studying the subjects in his curriculum but merely to struggling to master his own language.³

Those who oppose any move to substitute the colloquial for the classical language in writing object, first of all, to the fact that such a move would cut the Arabic-speaking peoples off from all their past literature, including the Quran. They hold, furthermore, that it would be impracticable to make such a substitution, because the

2. Proponents of the use of colloquial have not infrequently chosen to hide behind pseudonyms. See, for instance the article signed by "Ahmad" in al-Ustādh 1(11) (1 November 1892): 241-245. See also "al-Mumkin", مستقبل اللغة العربية, al-Muqtataf 6(1881-82): 494-496. For objections to this article and rebuttals of the objections see al-Muqtataf 6(1881-82): 551-556, 556-560, 618-620, 621.

3. This point is examined in some detail in As'ad al-Hakim, التفتاني في الحرص على اللغة, RAAD 5(1925): 456-466.

colloquial language is fit only for every-day use in the street or in the home and is incapable of serving as the language of learning and culture.

One of the strongest arguments put forward against such a move, however, is based on the fact that there is no single colloquial that could be substituted for the written language and that any such substitution would inevitably split Arabic into a number of mutually incomprehensible languages and thus end forever any possibility of achieving the reunification of the Arabs. There is, in other words, a considerable element of nationalistic feeling in the opposition to proposals that the classical be replaced by the colloquial language; and in fact one thing that has served to discredit such suggestions is the fact that many of them have been made by foreigners. One of the earliest proposals to this effect was one which was made in 1892 by William Willcocks, a British official in the Egyptian Department of Public Works, and which aroused a great deal of opposition in the Arabic press.⁴ Willcocks' views are summarized in a statement he made many years later when he declared:

I have been in Egypt forty years and I have never met an original Egyptian. Their mental energies are consumed in eternally translating to themselves

what they read in literary Arabic into familiar Egyptian, and then, with the aid of familiar Egyptian, realizing what they have read, and then translating it back again into literary Arabic before they can put their thoughts on paper.⁵

In 1901 Selden Willmore expressed much the same view somewhat less emphatically in the preface to his textbook of the spoken Arabic of Egypt⁶, and this likewise met with considerable opposition.⁷ Many of the later proposals of this type seem to have come from foreign missionaries concerned with finding the most effective way of bringing their message to the Muslim peoples.⁸

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4. See, for example, [‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm], باب اللغة , al-Ustādh 1(20) (3 January 1893): 467-477, and the unsigned review of Willcocks' proposals in al-Muqtataf 17(1892-93): 342-343. For some further remarks on Willcocks and the reactions to his ideas see the history of Mujtama’ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah in Chapter IV below.
 5. Willcocks, "Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Malta Speak Punio, not Arabic," BIE 8(1926): 99-115, see p. 111.
 6. Willmore, The Spoken Arabic of Egypt (London, 1901).
 7. See, for instance, [Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī], اللغة العامية , واللغة الفصحى , al-Diyā’ 4(1901-02): 257-265, 321-326, 353-357, 385-389, 417-424. For a summary of other reactions to Willmore's proposals see also ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, حافظ ابراهيم واللغة العربية , RAAD 12 (1932): 750-759, especially pp. 752-754.

The reverse of these schemes, that is, the proposal that the various colloquial languages be abandoned and everyone somehow induced to speak classical Arabic, has sometimes been put forward; but it is so obviously unfeasible that it has gained little support. Occasionally, too, the two proposals are brought together and the suggestion made that the spoken and written languages should be combined into one by introducing certain colloquial words and expressions into the written language and at the same time encouraging teachers, students, writers, and others to speak in classical Arabic whenever possible.⁹

Having rejected any move to substitute the colloquial for the classical language in written Arabic, most of those involved in the reform movement today hold that, provided certain reforms or modifications are made, modern written

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8. For some missionary approaches to the problem see Percy Smith, "A Plea for the Use of Versions of Scripture and of Other Literature in the Vulgar Arabic," MW 4(1914): 52-63; "A Plea for Literature in Vernacular Arabic," MW 7(1917): 333-342, 9(1919): 351-362; Arthur T. Upson, "What Style of Language for Our Literature?" MW 8(1918): 285-294; and other articles in the same journal.
 9. A well presented argument in favor of combining the written and spoken languages is in Razūq 'Īsā, *انجوز الكتابة باللغة العامية*, LA 1(1911-12): 238-241.

Arabic is quite capable of serving all the present-day needs of the Arabic-speaking peoples. This comparative unanimity, however, is little more than an agreement on the ends to be achieved, and there still remains a wide field of disagreement on the means to be used for attaining this goal. In fact, much of the literature of the reform movement over the past seventy-five years has consisted of the arguments and counterarguments put forward in connection with various proposals for reaching the generally accepted goal of reforming and modernizing classical Arabic.

Criticisms of Errors. A common method of dealing with the defects and deficiencies of Arabic as a modern language has consisted of pointing out and criticizing errors in current usage. This approach is not, of course, new in Arabic literature but goes back at least to the third century of the Islamic era. Early examples of this type of work include Adab al-Kātib by Ibn Qutaibah, Kitāb Laish fī Kalām al-‘Arab by Ibn Khālawaiḥ, Lahṇ al-‘Āmmah by Abū Bakr al-Zubaidī, and al-Taṣḥīf wa-‘l-Taḥrīf by Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī. Of the many modern works of this type, the best known are probably Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī's Lughat al-Jarā'id¹⁰, Qāmūs al-‘Awwām by Ḥalīm Dammūs¹¹, As‘ad Khalīl Dāghir's

Tadhkirat al-Kātib¹², and the series 'Atharāt al-Aqlām by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī¹³ which appeared in the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus between 1921 and 1927 and was followed some years later by the same author's 'Atharāt al-Afmām¹⁴ and 'Atharāt al-Lisān¹⁵.

One fact that has detracted from the effectiveness

10. Al-Yāziǧī, لغة الجرائد . First published in al-Diyā' 1(1898-99): 257-261, 289-292, 321-324, 353-357, 385-388, 417-421, 449-452, 481-484, 513-517, 545-549, 577-581, 609-613, 641-645, 673-676; revised and published in book form (Cairo, 1319); and later continued in al-Diyā' 7(1904-05): 193-195, 225-228, 257-260, 289-292, 321-324, 353-356, 385-387, 417-421, 449-452, 481-484, 513-516, 545-548, 577-580, 609-613, and 8(1905-06): 400-403.
11. Dammūs, قاموس العوام (Damascus, 1923).
12. Dāghir, تذكرة الكاتب (Cairo, 1923).
13. [al-Maghribī], عشرات الاقلام , RAAD 1(1921): 173-176, 219-220, 246-247, 306-310, 2(1922): 28-29, 88-92, 119-120, 269-270, 317, 3(1923): 26-27, 52-53, 84-85, 115, 185, 217-218, 316-317, 4(1924): 70-71, 226-227, 321, 418-419, 462-463, 5(1925): 40, 115-116, 191-192, 226-227, 324-325 (see also 333-335), 6(1926): 308-309, 373-374, 7(1927): 172. See also the comments by Aḥmad Riḍā in RAAD 3(1923): 345-346 and by Anastās al-Kirmilī in RAAD 4(1924): 132-136, 176-184, 7(1927): 219-222, and LA 4(1926-27): 411-415.
14. Al-Maghribī, عشرات الأقسام , في ما لا تفرق بين صوابه وخطأه الاقلام , RAAD 18(1943): 97-102, 223-229, 333-338, 443-448, 528-537.
15. Al-Maghribī, عشرات اللسان في اللغة (Damascus, 1949).

of this literature is that there has been comparatively little unanimity among its various practitioners as to what is actually "incorrect" or "improper" Arabic. Much of the writing of this type, in fact, consists merely of one writer's criticizing another's attempts to correct alleged mistakes in popular and current usage.¹⁶ Salīm al-Jundī's Iṣlāḥ al-Fāsid min Luḡhat al-Jarā'id¹⁷ and Dāghir's Tadhkirat al-Kātib, for instance, are both essentially attacks on al-Yāzījī's Luḡhat al-Jarā'id¹⁸; and Anastās al-Kirmilī, though much addicted to this type of writing himself, was especially violent in attacking others whose views on what was correct and what was not correct did not happen to coincide with his own.¹⁹

These compilations of "errors" in usage have perhaps had some slight effect on those at whom they have been aimed.

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16. On this point see also the remarks in Chapter IX below.
 17. Al-Jundī, اصلاح الفاسد من لغة الجرائد (Damascus, 1925).
 18. Dāghir's book was also reviewed by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, who published an eight-page list of its "errors" in RAAD 4(1924): 259-264, 307-314.
 19. See, for example, his criticisms of al-Maghribī's عثرات الاقلام (compare note 13 above). See also his attack on Jabr Dūmat in LA 7(1929): 708-713, and

One commentator, in fact, goes so far as to say that Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī in particular inspired a real terror in his contemporaries, who scarcely dared publish a line for fear of making some mistake in usage that would call down his scorn upon their heads.²⁰ More recently, however, there has been a reaction against this type of writing. Aḥmad al-Iskandarī complained that most of the writing on the Arabic language had come to consist of such compilations and that every little pedant with a smattering of grammar who could put together a list of fifty or sixty current "errors" thought that this was enough to make him an important scholar.²¹

أصبح النقد اللغوي وحده ريدن النقاد كافة ، و... تدخل
في أهله كل قليل البصر بالنحو والصرف والبيان ، إن رأى أن
نحو خمسين أو ستين كلمة يزعم أن الناس يحرفونها عن
مواقعها ، كافية للتشهير بكبار المؤلفين والكتاب والشعراء .

Both al-Iskandarī and Muṣṭafā Jawād²² further criticized

his criticisms of errors of usage in the text of RAAD, in LA 8(1930): 351-363, 524-529, 682-685, 764-773, and RAAD 17(1942): 106-112, 232-237, 322-327.

20. J. Lecerf, "Renaissance de la langue et de la littérature arabes," in Entretiens sur l'évolution des pays de civilisation arabe, [1][1937]: 31-42, see p. 36.

21. Al-Iskandarī, الغرض من قرارات المجمع ، والاحتجاج لها, RALA 1(1934): 177-268, see pp. 177-179.

the compilers of these lists for relying solely on dictionaries and grammatical texts rather than on actual usage or on the basic principles of Arabic morphology and syntax.

Vocabulary Reform. Other and more constructive approaches to the problem of how Arabic is to be reformed and modernized have dealt for the most part with the question of vocabulary. It is in its vocabulary that modern Arabic differs most noticeably from the classical language, and it is here that its present deficiencies are most apparent and the differences between the various factions of the reform movement are greatest.

Opposing Views The most conservative point of view holds that the vocabulary of Arabic is immeasurably rich, that the only reform needed is the revival of words which have been forgotten and become obsolete, and that even the words needed for the technical vocabulary of modern industrial civilization can be found in the language of the pre-Islamic poets. Those who belong to this school would reject as improper any word or meaning that does not appear in the Qāmūs of al-Fīrūzābādī, the Ṣiḥāḥ of al-Jauharī, or

22. Jawād, القول الناجع في الغلط النائع , RAAD 24(1949): 395-416.

the Lisān al-‘Arab. A slightly more liberal view holds that words included in the Mukhaṣṣaṣ, the Asās al-Balāghah, the Miṣbāh, or the Tāj al-‘Arūs are also good Arabic.²³ The supporters of this school have a special horror of words which are مؤلف , that is, words which are purely Arabic in form, derivation, and meaning, but which have been formed and have become current since about the third century of the Islamic era.²⁴ To these critics a foreign loan word such as بنك bank or فيلم film is less objectionable than an Arabic word which is post-classical in formation or meaning such as تصويت voting, أعدم to execute, or مسئولية responsibility. Even the phrase اللغة الفصحى , the watchword of the conservatives, would be rejected as improper, since الفصحى is an elative form and the best classical dictionaries give only the form فصيح and not the elatives أفصح and فصحي .

Opposed to this conservative position are those who feel that such views are contrary to the natural laws of linguistic growth and change and that the imposition of such

23. For a statement of this extreme orthodox viewpoint see Shakīb Arslān, ليس للغة قاموس محيط بها , RAAD 11 (1931): 717-723.

24. For a further discussion of the term مؤلف see below in Chapter VII.

criteria could only result in making Arabic a dead language like Latin. Those who hold this more liberal point of view argue that the standard classical dictionaries are deficient even as guides to what is فصيح and should not be the final arbiters of present-day usage and that the modern language should not be forced to follow the usage of Arabian Bedouins of a thousand or more years ago. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's rhetorical "Do you want me to ... submit to [the example of] some Bedouin?"²⁵ is cited in support of this point of view, and Jurjī Zaidān argued that the time had come to release the Arabic language from the bonds of the age of ignorance and to free it from the prison of Bedouin usage:²⁶

قد آن لنا ان نحلّ اقلامنا من قيود الجاهلية ونخرجها من
سجن البداوة والا فلا نستطيع البقاء في هذا الوسط

25. Al-Afghānī had used the word بقروت as a collective plural of بقرة and was criticized on the grounds that this form did not occur in any of the classical dictionaries

قالوا = ولكنها لم ترد في كلام العرب .
قال = وهل تريدون مني ان انكر نفسي واخضع لبدوى ؟

See LA 6(1928): 291-294. Al-Kirmilī's comment was that Jamāl al-Dīn was nothing but an Afghani anyway, and what could one expect from foreigners who tried to advise the Arabs on their language. The propriety of the word itself is discussed more fully in al-Maghribī, معركة لغوية , RAAD 8(1928): 626-628.

الجديد . فلا ينبغي لنا احتقار كل لفظ لم ينطق به اهل
البادية منذ بضعة عشر قرنا لان لغة البراري والخيام لا
تصلح للمدن والقصور ...

The liberal or modern school, in short, holds that unless Arabic is to become a dead language it must be freed from artificial bonds such as those imposed by the classical dictionaries and allowed to develop its vocabulary as circumstances dictate. Most writers on the subject, however, even those who hold a generally liberal and modernistic viewpoint on problems of vocabulary, make some reservations regarding the acceptance of colloquial or foreign words into the language and would prefer to admit these only when no satisfactory "correct" Arabic equivalent can be found.

Although the influx of foreign and especially European words was one of the factors chiefly responsible for the rise of the language reform movement, opinion today on this aspect of the problem is far from unanimous and ranges from those who would place almost no restrictions on the entry of foreign words²⁷ to those who

Foreign Words

26. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية (Cairo, 1904), p. 63.

27. See, for example, Mikhā'il Mārīyā, التعريب , al-Muqtataf 9(1884-85): 261-264; and Mārūn Ghūṣn , الالفاظ الدخيلة في اللغة , RAAD 14(1936): 277-282.

would reject all foreign words except those which came into Arabic in the earliest period of its development. Those who would admit foreign words without limitation point out that the entry of thousands of Latin and French words into English has in no way "corrupted" or altered the essential characteristics of the English language. Those who oppose this point of view, on the other hand, often point to Maltese as an example of the horrid fate awaiting Arabic if the entry of foreign words is allowed to continue unchecked.

In general, moderate opinion on the question of admitting modern loan words holds that it is permissible to borrow a foreign word if no satisfactory Arabic equivalent or translation can be found. Many writers who are willing to accept foreign words into the language also urge that they should be shortened or otherwise altered in spelling or form in order to make them conform to the standard patterns of Arabic morphology.²⁸ Others would accept only foreign words that are short, easily pronounced, and already close to Arabic forms, but would reject foreign words that are long or bear no resemblance to any of the standard word

28. The adaptation of foreign words to Arabic forms is discussed more fully in Chapter VI below.

forms of Arabic. The Arab Academy of Damascus, in establishing the rules it would follow in selecting new words, decided that (1) if the idea or object was known to the Arabs of classical times, then the original Arabic word should be sought out in the classical dictionaries, but that (2) if the object or idea was new then the word already in popular use must be considered. If this was found to conform to the rules of Arabic spelling and morphology, then the word could be allowed to continue in use. If not, then it must be changed so as to conform to these rules.²⁹ The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo has adopted standards that are essentially similar to these and has explicitly approved the acceptance of foreign or post-classical words into the language when necessary

Various methods have been suggested for supplying Arabic words to meet the needs of modern civilization with-

Creation of New Vocabulary out resorting to the use of foreign words. The most conservative writers on the subject would content themselves with a thorough search through the standard dictionaries and classical Arabic literature. The more liberal reformers, on the other hand, argue that the standard

29. RAAD 2(1922): 50.

word forms or patterns of Arabic offer a means of creating large numbers of new words from familiar Arabic roots. They point out that the position of Arab culture vis-à-vis Western civilization today is much the same as its position at the beginning of the Islamic period with respect to Persian and Byzantine civilization. In both periods there has been a need for new words to deal with the new objects and ideas of contemporary civilization. In the first centuries of the Islamic era this need was met not only by allowing the entry of foreign words but also by creating large numbers of new words and altering the meanings of words already in use. This was accomplished by deriving new words from existing roots (الاشتقاق), by extending or otherwise altering the meaning of words (المجاز), by translating foreign words (الترجمة or النقل), and occasionally by forming compound words (النحت); and the more liberal of present-day language reformers argue that the same devices should be freely used today to enlarge and modernize the vocabulary of Arabic without destroying its essential characteristics.

The conservative retort to these arguments is that the use of these devices was permissible for the Arabs of classical times, but that once the language was formed and

codified (that is, by about the third century of the Islamic era), these avenues were closed and that the Arabic-speaking peoples of today may not legitimately use them.³⁰ The majority of writers, however, including major figures of the language reform movement such as Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī³¹, As'ad Dāghir³², Muḥammad Sharaf³³, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī³⁴, and Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī³⁵, and others, have favored the extensive use of these devices as a means of enlarging and

30. See, for instance, "Bāhith" [Anastās al-Kirmilī?], *أرثنا القوي*, RAAD 11(1931): 55-60, 84-96, 157-171, 237-243, 300-307, 356-361. See also the discussion of نحت by Krenkow, Mārūn Ghuṣn, Salīm al-Jundī, and Sa'īd al-Afghānī in RAAD 13(1933-35): 300-302, 359-362, 429-430, 458-465, 14(1936): 147-152.

31. Al-Yāziǧī develops in some detail his arguments for modern use of these devices in his article *اللغة والعصر*, *al-Bayān* 1(1897-98): 145-150, 193-200, 251-254, 321-324, 353-357, 417-422, 449-454, 481-485, 513-517, 545-550; continued with the title *المجاز* in *al-Diyā'* 5(1902-03): 2-5, 65-69, 165-168, 197-200, 293-299, 357-359.

32. For instance, in his article *اللغة العربية، هل هي كافية أهلها ووافية بحاجاتهم؟*, *al-Muqtataf* 66(1925): 383-388, 499-505.

33. See, for example, his *اللغة العربية والمصطلحات العلمية*, *al-Muqtataf* 74(1929): 123-127, 278-282.

34. See especially his *كتاب الاشتقاق والتعريب* (Cairo, 2d ed., 1947) and his address at the opening of the second session of the Academy of the Arabic Language, RALA 2(1935): 16-20.

modernizing the Arabic vocabulary so that it can meet the requirements of modern civilization.

The consensus of learned opinion on matters of vocabulary reform appears to be reflected with some accuracy

A Survey of Opinion in a poll conducted by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī in the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus during the years 1928-1935.³⁶ Al-Maghribī set forth seven classes of words and expressions and asked for opinions on whether their use was permissible in good modern written Arabic. His categories comprised (1) words that are purely Arabic and occur in the works of the best classical writers (الفصحاء الذين يحتج بأقوالهم) but which, for one reason or another, are not included in the classical dictionaries, (2) words that are found in the works of reputable later Arab writers (فصحاء من العرب عاشوا بعد القرون الأولى), (3) words that have acquired

35. Al-Shihābī's views are set forth at length in his المصطلحات العلمية في اللغة العربية في القديم والحديث (Cairo, 1955). See also his article نهضة اللغة العربية للتعبير عن حاجات الحياة العصرية والتعليم العالي, RAAD 27(1952): 369-382.

36. Al-Maghribī, الكلمات غير القاموسية, RAAD 8(1928): 29-32. The replies, which were printed in full in RAAD 8(1928), 9(1929), and 13(1933-35), are summarized by al-Maghribī in RAAD 12(1932): 521-532, 577-588, and in Mahḍar 1(1934): 321-329. For some rather derogatory comments on the whole project see al-Machriq 27(1929): 452-453.

new meanings since classical times, (4) words that have been formed in more recent times, (5) foreign words, (6) figures of speech and idiomatic constructions of foreign origin, and (7) colloquial Arabic words.

Al-Maghribī's questionnaire brought forth nineteen replies, the general tenor of which was on the whole fairly liberal. Eighteen of the replies indicated that their authors would accept words of the first category, and the nineteenth rejected this group only on the grounds that each word should be judged on its own merits and not on its age or the reputation of the writers who had used it. The greatest opposition was shown not to foreign words but to colloquial words, which were rejected outright by eight writers and rejected by a further eight with reservations based on differences of opinion as to what was colloquial and what was not. The remaining categories were accepted by a majority of those who replied to al-Maghribī.

Need for a New Dictionary. Closely connected with the vocabulary problem is the question of the need for a new Arabic dictionary that will serve present-day needs by including all the new words in the language as well as the new meanings that have become attached to old words.

The criticisms that may be made of the existing Arabic dictionaries are obvious and derive chiefly from the fact that they are basically dictionaries of the classical language only. While hundreds of new words have been taken into Arabic since the first centuries of the Islamic era, these have been arbitrarily excluded from the dictionaries by the orthodox grammarians and lexicographers. The result is that the dictionaries are filled with obsolete words known only to the lexicographers and do not include hundreds of other words which are in every-day use in modern Arabic.

Even as records of the classical language alone, the existing standard dictionaries have a number of defects. They omit a considerable number of words which occur in the works of the best classical authors. Their definitions are sometimes incorrect and often vague. Too often, that is, words are defined simply as "well known" or given circular definitions (two words being defined by reference to each other). Finally, they are often poorly arranged and difficult to use, so that one may have to read through pages of definitions before finding the desired word.³⁷

The more recent dictionaries such as al-Bustān³⁸, Aqrab al-Mawārid³⁹, Muhīt al-Muhīt⁴⁰, and al-Munjid⁴¹ have

all been strongly criticized for one reason or another, and writers since the early days of the reform movement have been urging the compilation of a new Arabic dictionary.⁴² Not surprisingly, however, in view of the magnitude of the task and the wide disagreement over what words should be included, no such new dictionary has yet appeared.⁴³

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37. A careful analysis of the faults of existing dictionaries is in Buṭrus al-Bustānī, في شوائب المعاجم, al-Machriq 29(1931): 683-688. The defects of the newer dictionaries are discussed in Muḥammad Jamīl al-Khānī, المعجمات الحديثة, RAAD 23(1948): 77-86.
 38. For a critique of al-Bustān see Anastās al-Kirmillī, الليستان في العيزان, RAAD 11(1931): 226-236, and the review by 'Arif al-Nakadī in RAAD 11(1931): 183-187.
 39. See Aḥmad Riḍā, اقرب الموارد, RAAD 21(1946): 118-125, 218-226, 317-328, and اغلاط اقرب الموارد, RAAD 22 (1947): 345-351.
 40. The faults of Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ are discussed in al-Khānī, op.cit.
 41. See, for example, Muṣṭafā Jawād, اوهام المنجد, LA 7(1929): 203, 876-878.
 42. The need for a new dictionary and the organizational and other problems that would be involved in compiling one are discussed in some detail in al-Maghribī, معجم جديد في اللغة العربية, RAAD 5(1925): 277-282, reprinted with the title معجم عربي جديد in al-Muqtataf 82(1933): 136-139.
 43. See, however, the reference in Chapter IV below to the new dictionaries under preparation by the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo.

Reform of the Grammar. Another approach to the problem of language reform is made by those who call for a revision and modernization of Arabic grammar. The reformers here point out that one reason for the relatively low standard of much written Arabic is the difficulty of learning the hundreds of rules, exceptions to rules, and irregular usages with which the Arabic grammars abound. This aspect of the language problem has attracted less attention than the question of vocabulary reform, and there is perhaps somewhat less difference of opinion about what reforms are needed. The movement for reform of grammar has not, however, been entirely without its opponents, such as the writer who declared that the rules of Arabic grammar were fixed and immutable and that what was good enough for the Arabs of classical times was good enough for their modern descendents:⁴⁴

ان قواعد اللغة كقواعد الحساب والهندسة لا تقبل التغيير
والتبديل ولا سيما لان العربية الفصحى ثابتة على حال
واحدة فما كان من القواعد كافيا في ايامنا وايام اجدادنا
واجدادهم لاعراب اللغة ومعرفة صحيحها من فاسدها
يجب ان يكفي ابنائنا وابنائهم .

44. "Ahad al-Qurrā", تعلم قواعد اللغة العربية , al-Muqtataf
14(1889-90): 186-188.

Those who urge a reform of Arabic grammar do not advocate a revision of the actual structure and syntax of the language. No one, for instance, has seriously proposed that the subjunctive be abolished or grammatical gender discarded. The reformers call rather for a revision of the way in which Arabic grammar is presented in textbooks and taught in the schools. They hold that Arabic grammar is in fact a model of logic and simplicity and that its apparent difficulties arise not from any inherent complexity of the language itself but from the way it has been recorded and explained in the works of classical grammarians and later commentators.⁴⁵ They urge therefore that the traditions inherited from the classical grammarians be discarded and Arabic grammar reappraised on the basis of modern linguistics.⁴⁶

Among those who have made specific proposals for

45. See, for example, al-Yāzījī. *op.cit.* in note 7 above, especially pp. 322-326; and Muṣṭafā Jawād, *كيفية اصلاح العربية*, LA 9(1931): 81-93.

46. For instance, Anīs Furaiḥah, *هذا الصرف . هذا النحو*, al-*Abhāth* 8(1955-56): 71-107. See also Khalīl al-Sakākīnī, *دلائل البيان في العربية*, al-*Muqtataf* 58 (1921): 134-141, 239-243; *الافعال في اللغة العربية*, al-*Muqtataf* 58(1921): 340-344, 440-446; *النحو*, al-*Siyāsah* No.605(10 October 1924). These articles were collected and reprinted under the title *مطالعات في اللغة والادب* (Jerusalem, 1925).

reform and simplification of Arabic grammar have been Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, who has attempted to simplify the rules for إعراب by showing that the inflections are merely the outward signs of certain basic rules of the language and that once these basic rules were understood the correct use of إعراب would in most cases follow without difficulty and without resort to complicated grammatical explanations.⁴⁷ Another would-be reformer, Edouard Murquṣ, has published a number of proposals for simplification of grammar based on such steps as regularizing the vowel system of Form I verbs, eliminating the inconsistencies and ambiguities in the rules for formation of the diminutive and the relative adjective, and simplifying the rules for use of the numerals.⁴⁸ Other writers who have attempted to show how Arabic grammar could be presented more simply and more logically than in the traditional texts include Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Arafah⁴⁹, 'Abd al-Nuṭa'ālī al-Ṣa'īdī⁵⁰, and 'Abd al-Majīd 'Ābidīn⁵¹.

47. Muṣṭafā, إحياء النحو (Cairo, 1937). See also his article تيسير قواعد اللغة العربية, RAAD 32(1957): 123-128.

48. Murquṣ, في زوايا العربية, RAAD 20(1945): 44-53.

49. 'Arafah, النحو والنحاة بين الأزهر والجامعة (Cairo, n.d.).

50. Al-Ṣa'īdī, النحو الجديد (Cairo, 1947).

The Academy of the Arabic Language and other bodies have also interested themselves in the simplification of Arabic grammar. The Egyptian Ministry of Education in 1944 formed a committee for simplification of grammatical rules which held a number of discussions with a similar committee of the Academy of the Arabic Language. A report embodying a number of recommended simplifications was drawn up and submitted to the Minister of Education⁵², and the Academy subsequently decided to proceed with the compilation of a new grammar based on these recommendations.⁵³

A revised version of these recommendations⁵⁴ was submitted to the joint conference of Arab Academies in Damascus in 1956. After some discussion of the proposals, the conference voted that they be returned for "further study and clarification" and submitted again to some future conference.⁵⁵

51. 'Ābidīn, اللغات السامية على ضوء النحو العربي (Cairo, 1951).

52. RALA 6(1951): 180-197.

53. RALA 7(1953): 168-169.

54. اقتراحات اللجنة المصرية لتيسير النحو والصرف , RAAD 32(1957): 213-221.

55. RAAD 32(1957): 223.

One of the basic decisions made by the Academy of the Arabic Language was that in attempting to reform and simplify Arab grammar it would not consider proposals that involved any essential change in the syntax of the language itself.⁵⁶

كل رأى يؤدى الى تغيير فى جوهر اللغة وأوضاعها العامة
لا تنظر اليه اللجنة ، لأن مهمتها تيسير القواعد .

A similar position was taken by the first Cultural Conference of the Arab League, meeting in 1947, which called for simplification of Arabic grammar in these terms:⁵⁷

يرى المؤتمر ان قواعد اللغة العربية ، من نحو وصرف واملاء ،
تحتاج الى تيسير وتبسيط ، يقربانها من مدراك الطلاب ، على
ألا يمس ... جوهر اللغة .

The conference also appointed a committee to look into the simplification and standardization of textbooks of grammar used in the various Arab countries. The Ministries of Education in most of the Arab states appear to be in sympathy with the movement, and much of the actual progress in simplification has been through government-sponsored textbooks.

56. RALA 6(1952): 193.

57. League of Arab States, المؤتمر الثقافي العربى الأول (Cairo, 1948), p. 89. See also مجموعة القرارات التي اخذتها اللجان الغنية , RAAD 23(1948): 139-157, see p. 139.

Chapter III

PROPOSALS FOR REFORM OF THE ALPHABET

In addition to advocating modernization of the Arabic vocabulary and simplification of the grammar of the language, the reform movement has also turned its attention to the question of revision of the alphabet. The extremes of opinion on this matter are represented on the one hand by those who propose that the present system of writing should be abandoned altogether and the Latin alphabet adopted in its place, and on the other hand by those who say that at most only a few minor modifications of the present script are needed.

Arabic writing has, of course, already undergone two major reforms. These occurred very early in the Islamic era with the addition of a number of diacritical marks to distinguish between letters of similar shape such as *أ ب ج د* and with the development of a system for indicating the short vowel sounds. With these two basic reforms the alphabet became considerably more accurate and efficient than it had been before. It retains, however, a number of characteristics which for present-day purposes can be considered defects, and it is to these that the critics direct their

attention in arguing that a further revision of the alphabet is needed.

Criticisms of the Alphabet. One of the most frequently criticized features of Arabic writing is its system of vowels. Because the vowels are separate marks added above and below the letters rather than fully-developed letters themselves, they tend to be omitted from

Spelling

Difficulties

most printed or written Arabic. This omission

of the vowels not only leads to occasional ambiguity and error, but also greatly increases the difficulty of learning to read Arabic. Furthermore, say the critics, even when all the existing Arabic vowel sounds are used, the only function they can really perform satisfactorily is to indicate inflection or morphological differences as in the series مَفْعَل , مَفْعِل , مَفْعُل , مَفْعَل , and مَفْعِل . They cannot accurately indicate the vowel sounds either of spoken standard Arabic or of the various colloquials, and they are certainly inadequate to reproduce the many different vowels of the scores of foreign common nouns and proper names which have come into the language in the past century and a half.

Some of the same criticisms are made of the consonants themselves. They cannot accurately reproduce the sounds

of the various Arabic colloquials, nor can they satisfactorily transcribe the sounds of many common foreign words. The alphabet has no signs for p or v, for example. It cannot satisfactorily reproduce the tʃ sound of English ch and Italian soft ç or distinguish between the various sounds of g and j in the European languages.

A further criticism of the consonants is based on the fact that they may each have as many as three or four different forms. This multiplicity of shapes not only makes the task of learning to read and write Arabic much harder but also adds greatly to the difficulty of printing Arabic from type.

Many of the criticisms directed at the Arabic alphabet, in fact, arise from difficulties in connection with printing. The most serious of these results from the va-

riety of different shapes that each letter can have. To say that each letter may have three or four different forms is actually an oversimplification of the matter. A letter such as ب, for example, in fact has six different forms: (initial before س, ش, ص, ض, ط, and ظ), (initial before other letters), (medial after initial ب, ت, ث, ن, س, ش, ص, ض,

Printing
Difficulties

and ۛ), ۛ (medial in other positions), ۛ (final joined to preceding letter), and ۛ (final separate).¹ The result is that (disregarding the numerals, the punctuation marks, all vowel signs, and the additional letters required for Persian or other languages) a simple newspaper or job printing font with no special refinements has about 110 different characters, as compared with the 52 characters required for printing English. To these must be added the various ligatures or combinations of letters such as ۛ , ۛ , ۛ , ۛ , and ۛ , which are used in even the most ordinary day-to-day printing. A comparatively simple Linotype font, for instance, has 26 such ligatures and the full range of those available with Linotype (again disregarding the letters used for Persian, Urdu, etc.) amounts to 236 combined forms. To these, of course, must be added the punctuation marks, the numerals, and (in all but the barest fonts) the characters for hamzah on alif (ۛ) and for tanwīn of the fathah (ۛ).

The total number of characters used for printing

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1. This is a somewhat simplified and incomplete statement of the rules for use of the various forms. For a fuller explanation of the proper use of the various shapes see Hellmut Ritter, "Über einige Regeln, die beim Drucken mit arabischen Typen zu beachten sind," ZDMG 100(1950): 577-580.

varies, of course, with the particular face used and with the requirements of each press. Daish states that a typical Intertype face comprises approximately 400 characters², Nasri Khattar says "several hundred" characters are required

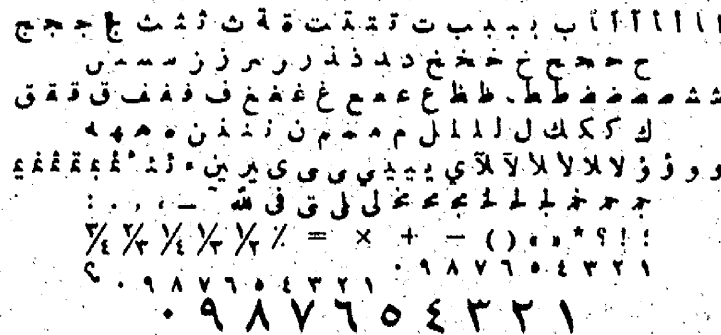


Fig. 1. Linotype 14-point Arabic type face.

for printing Arabic³, the simple Linotype font illustrated in Figure 1 above contains 196 different forms, and Sauvaget states that the average good font contains over 300 characters⁴. Certainly the minimum for printing unvowelled Arabic cannot be far short of 200 and may rise to 400 or 500, while

2. A. N. Daish, "Printing in Egypt: a Brief Historical Account and Review of Arabic Typesetting and Typographic Design," The Jobbing Printer, 4(1952): 142-145, 170-172, 200-203.
3. Khattar, The "Unified" Arabic Type (New York, 1947).
4. J. Sauvaget, "Suggestions pour une réforme de la typographie arabe," REI 19(1951): 127-132.

several hundred more may be needed if vowel marks are to be included.⁵ This compares with a typical English job printing face like American Type Founders' Garamond, which has 73 characters plus seven ligatures such as *ffi* and *st* .

A number of disadvantages result from this multiplicity of different letter forms. For setting type by hand, the type case must be considerably larger than that needed for a European language, and the process of setting is inevitably somewhat slower and the possibility of error greater. The owner of a press, furthermore, must invest a comparatively greater sum in type. With mechanical typesetting the printer must either greatly reduce the number of ligatures and other special forms he uses, in order to come within the limits of the size of the keyboard, or else must resort to a combination of mechanical and hand setting.

Yet another difficulty in connection with printing results from the fact that the Arabic letters are considerably taller than those of the Latin alphabet. Because of

5. Zuhair al-Shihābī, in stating the need for alphabet reform in *RAAD* 9(1929): 654-657, declared that 320 characters were needed for printing unvowelled Arabic and 840 for vowelled texts. The latter figure is presumably based on a face in which consonants and vowels are cast together as single bits.

the length of the "ascenders" of letters such as **ط** , **ك** , and **ل** and of the "descenders" of characters such as **ح** and **ع** , lines of Arabic type cannot satisfactorily be set as close together as is possible with the European languages. The result is that where an English text may, for example, be set in 10-point type unleaded, an Arabic text with the same apparent size of type must be set on a 14-point body and takes up approximately half again as much space on the page as the corresponding English text. Conversely, while an English text in 6-point or 8-point type can be read with no difficulty, an Arabic text printed from type of the same point size would be too small to be easily legible. Finally, if vowel marks are added, each line of Arabic is on three different levels and close setting of the lines becomes even more difficult.

Many of the same difficulties arise with the Arabic typewriter. The average typewriter has no more than 44 keys, allowing for 88 different characters. When keys have been allotted to the numerals, the punctuation marks, and two or three different forms for each letter, no room is left for special ligatures of any sort and the Arabic printing produced by a typewriter is therefore in a very much simplified

version of the alphabet. Another problem arises from the varying widths of the Arabic letters. The typewriter is so constructed that when a key is struck the carriage moves one unit to left or right. Ideally, all the characters should be the same width as this unit of movement. With the European languages this uniformity is achieved by distorting the width of the letters somewhat so that, for instance, i, m, and x all become approximately the same width. The differences in width between Arabic letters such as ل, ج, ح, and و, however, are so great that no such distortion is feasible, and the machine itself must be altered to provide two different types of carriage movement. The Arabic typewriter is therefore mechanically more complex than one built for use with the Latin alphabet. As a result of this and other problems of design, the typewriter was not successfully adapted to use with the Arabic alphabet until some fifty years after the machine had come into general use in Europe and America.

Opposition to Reform. Those who discount the importance of the difficulties described above base their opposition to any major modification of the alphabet primarily on the fact that it would mean an almost complete break with

the past of the Arabic language and literature. The use of a fundamentally new system of writing would mean that all of the great works of Arabic literature would become at least temporarily inaccessible and many of them would be permanently lost to modern readers. A considerable element of religious sentiment is also involved in the opposition to reform, arising from the feeling that it would be sacrilegious to alter the writing of the Quran. Other opponents of change point out that it would be difficult or impossible to persuade the general public to accept any new method of writing and that a shift to a fundamentally different script would impose a very heavy burden on owners of presses.

Latinization. The most extreme of the proposals made for reform of the Arabic alphabet is that it should be abandoned altogether and replaced by some completely different system of writing. The Latin alphabet is, of course, the one that immediately suggests itself as a substitute.

Proposals that Arabic should discard its traditional method of writing and adopt the Latin alphabet instead have never gained much support in the Arab world, though suggestions to this effect have been made from time to time since the early days of the language reform movement. An anonymous

reader of al-Muqtataf argued in favor of Latinization in 1893, for example, but subsequent comments by other readers indicated that he had little or no support.⁶ A writer in Loghat el-Arab in 1929 examined the advantages and disadvantages of such proposals and concluded that Latinization would be preferable to attempting to change the existing alphabet⁷, and Salāmah Mūsà some years later declared himself in favor of adopting the Latin alphabet⁸; but neither of these proposals won any general support.

One scheme for Latinization of Arabic writing that deserves special mention, if only because of the detail with which its author developed it and the vigor with which he supported it is the proposal put forward about 1940 by 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī. This scheme and a number of others were discussed at length between 1938 and 1944 by the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, which reached no decision on the best means of reforming the alphabet.⁹ Fahmī thereupon

6. "Aḥad al-Qurrā'"; صور الحروف العربية , al-Muqtataf 17 (1892-93): 689-690. See also pp. 556-558 and 622-624 and 18(1893-94): 197-198.

7. [Anon.], العربية بالحروف اللاتينية , LA 7(1929): 251-254.

8. Mūsà, البلاغة العصرية واللغة العربية (Cairo, 1945), pp. 137-139.

published the scheme himself¹⁰, together with a lengthy a-

ف	ن	ق	ز	ح	ألف	ا	ā
ك	ن	ك	س	س	بَاء	ب	b
ل	ل	ل	س	س	تَاء	ت	t
م	م	m	ص	ص	ثَاء	ث	ṭ
ن	ن	n	ض	ض	مِيم	ج	j
ه	ه	h	ط	ط	عَاء	ع	ḥ
و	و	w	ظ	ظ	غَاء	غ	gh
هـ	و	h	ع	ع	رَال	ر	d
ي	ي	y	غ	غ	زَال	ز	z
ف	ف	f	ف	ف	رَاء	ر	r
<p>أما الحروف المزدوجة:</p> <p>(aa) للفتحة و (u) للضمّة و (e) للكسرة.</p> <p>و أما الأحرف التي لا تشبه لنغماتها في العربية فهي:</p> <p>c, g, j, p, v, x.</p>							
<p>ويلاحظ أن الحروف المرسومة هنا هي حروف عادية أما اللبنة اللاتينية (majuscules) فحروف وتكتب الحروف المأخوذة من العربية يكون بكتابة رسمها عالية رؤسها دون كاساتها.</p>							

Fig. 2. Proposal by 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī for Latinization of Arabic writing.¹¹

analysis of its advantages and of possible objections to it.

Unlike other proponents of Latinization, he developed his plan in some detail. As shown in Figures 2 and 3, it is

*ʿayru l-birri mā ta rahlada bi hi l
marsu nafsa hu wa ʿayru birri l-nafse an
tarbasa bihā an mawāgifi l-ʿitidār.
Al sayfu andagu an bāsan men l-kutubi
fay raddi hi l-raddu bayna l-riddi wa l-laribi*

Fig. 3. Two verses of poetry in 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī's Latinized Arabic.¹²

based on the conventional Latin alphabet with the addition of a number of letters derived from the Arabic script.

Advocates of schemes such as Fahmī's argue that the Latinization of Arabic writing would make it much easier to

9. Academy of the Arabic Language, تيسير الكتابة العربية (Cairo, 1946), summarizes the Academy's discussions and illustrates the proposals made by 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī and by 'Alī al-Jārim (see Figure 22 below).
10. Fahmī, الحروف اللاتينية لكتابة العربية (Cairo, 1944).
11. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 186. The lines read خير البر ما تعهد به المرء and (last two lines) وخير بر النفس أن تقرأ بها عن موافق الاعتذار السيف أصدق أنباء من الكتب في حذو الحد بين الجد واللعب

learn to read and write the language, facilitate the adoption of foreign technical terms, and greatly simplify the printing of Arabic. Opposition to such proposals is based on much the same reasons as those put forward against any alteration of Arabic writing; and opponents also argue that use of the Latin alphabet, by opening the door to an influx of foreign words, would defeat the reformers' attempts to "purify" the language.

Some of the opposition to schemes for Latinization seems also to have arisen from the fact that such proposals have frequently been put forward by missionaries or other foreigners. The English-language Egyptian Gazette in reviewing Willmore's textbook of colloquial Arabic¹³, for example, urged that Willmore's system of Romanized spelling be used for all written Arabic, and this suggestion was strongly opposed by Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī.¹⁴ The Arab Academy of Damascus was equally vigorous in condemning a proposal for Latinization published in 1922 in the French-language newspaper La Syrie¹⁵ and in opposing similar proposals by Massignon and others as well as a scheme submitted to the Egyptian

13. Willmore, The Spoken Arabic of Egypt (London, 1901).

14. Al-Diyā' 4(1901-02): 257-259.

Ministry of Education* by an unnamed "Dutch orientalist" some years later.¹⁶

Other Reform Proposals. The majority of those who feel that some reform of the alphabet is needed, however, have rejected the idea of Latinization and suggested instead some modification of the present Arabic script. For convenience of discussion such schemes may be divided into three groups: those which propose alterations in the letters of the alphabet, those which suggest that the manner of writing the vowels be changed, and those which direct themselves at both problems together.

Of the proposals aimed at reforming the letters themselves, the most conservative are those that would retain the present alphabet intact but add to it a number of new letters taken from the Persian and Turkish modifications of the Arabic script. One of the earliest of such schemes was one published about 1905 by

Additional
Letters

15. An Arabic translation of the article, together with a reply by Ilyās Qudṣī on behalf of the Academy, is in RAAD 3(1923): 177-184.
16. [Anon.], استبدال الحروف العربية بالحروف اللاتينية, RAAD 9 (1929): 433-439. See also the remarks by Ḥabīb Ghazālāh in RAAD 12(1932): 21-25, and by Fu'ād al-Bustānī in al-Maohriq 27(1929): 55-56.

the Egyptian Ministry of Education with the title طريقة كتابة ¹⁷. Later proposals of the same sort include a scheme put forward by Rashīd Baqdūnis in 1925¹⁸, one suggested in 1931 by A. S. Marmarjī¹⁹, another proposed by Zakī Mughāmir in 1937²⁰, and a system for transliteration of foreign names approved in 1936 by the Academy of the Arabic Language²¹.

The sounds for which new Arabic letters are most often proposed are those of p, v, g/j, and ch, and there is at least partial agreement on what form these new letters should take. The five schemes mentioned above, for example, all propose that پ be used for p and ج for the sound of English ch and Italian soft c. When v is indicated at all

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17. For a quite detailed description of the Ministry's booklet see اختراع عصرى لتفتيش المعارف المصرية, al-Diyā' 8(1905-06): 523-531.
 18. Baqdūnis, فكر فطير, RAAD 5(1925): 493-505.
 19. Marmarjī, اقتراح في الحروف الدخيلة والحركات الفرعية, RAAD 8 (1928): 456-464.
 20. Mughāmir, بحث في اللغة العربية, RAAD 15(1937): 252-268.
 21. Maḥḍar 3(1936): 367-374. See also al-Ahrām between March and June 1936, especially the issues of 17, 22, & 31 March, 1 & 27 April, 17 May, and 1 & 8 June.

in modern Arabic the letter ج is usually used. This was included in the Egyptian Ministry of Education's scheme and that suggested by Marmarjī, but Baqdūnis and the Academy favored ; for the y sound and Zakī Mughāmir proposed that a simple , (without dots) be used.

For the hard g sound the letter گ is usually proposed, though Marmarjī and the Cairo Academy approved the form گ̣. Both Baqdūnis and Mughāmir would distinguish the hard g sound of Latin and other western European languages from the sound of gamma in words derived from Greek, and proposed ح and غ for spelling the latter. The problem of indicating the soft g/j sound of foreign words is complicated by the various pronunciations given to ح in spoken Arabic and by the fact that some would-be reformers seem to be unaware that these letters have more than one pronunciation in the European languages. The Ministry of Education's scheme properly distinguished between the sounds of soft g/j in French (ʒ) and English (dʒ) and proposed the use of ; and ; respectively for these sounds. Baqdūnis proposed ; for the French soft g/j but made no provision for the English pronunciation of these letters, while the Academy's scheme approved the use of ; and Marmarjī suggested ح for

both sounds without distinguishing between them.

All such additional signs for p, v, and so forth are, of course, intended primarily for the spelling of foreign words.

[illegible]

Fig. 4. Alphabet proposed by Ilyās 'Akāwī.²²
Compare Figures 14 and 15 below.

More radical than these suggestions for the addition of new letters to the Arabic alphabet are the many proposals that have been made for changing the shape and appearance of

22. This and a number of other proposals are illustrated in Luṭfī Ridwān, 'معركة حول ألف با', in al-Musawwar No. 1656 (6 July 1956): 56-57.

the existing letters. These range from extreme proposals which would leave the Arabic letters barely recognizable,

Altered Letters such as the scheme put forward by Ilyās 'Akāwī and illustrated in Figure 4 above, to proposals like that of Maḥmūd Taimūr, illustrated in Figure 5, which would leave the letters of the alphabet unchanged but use only a single form of each.

أَرَيْتَ أَنَّا نَقْتَصِرُ مِنْ صُورِ الْحُرُوفِ عَلَى
صُورَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ ، وَبِذَلِكَ يَكُونُ لِصُنْدُوقِ
الْحُرُوفِ الْمَطْبَعِيَّةِ عُمُودٌ لَا تَتَجَاوَزُ الثَّلَاثِينَ
عَدًّا . فَذَخِلْ مِنْ تِلْكَ الْعُمُودِ الَّتِي تَزِيدُ
عَلَيْ ثَلَاثِمِائَةٍ . وَأَنْ نَتَّخِذَ عَلَامَاتِ الضَّبْطِ
الْمُتَعَارِفَةِ الْجَارِيَةِ بِهَا الْإِسْتِعْمَالَ ، وَسِيرَحْبُ

Fig. 5. Simplified Arabic alphabet for printing proposed by Maḥmūd Taimūr.²³

One of the earliest proposals for changing the shapes of the letters was that put forward in 1887 by Ni'mah

23. Taimūr, ضبط الكتابة العربية (Cairo, 1951), p. 46.

Yāfith, who suggested that each letter should be reduced to a single form. Since a letter can occur with sukūn or with any one of the three vowels, four different combinations would be needed for each letter, or a total of only about 110 different characters for printing fully vowelled Arabic texts.²⁴ Yāfith did not illustrate his proposal, but it presumably resembled very closely Maḥmūd Taimūr's scheme as illustrated above. A very similar proposal was made in 1893 by Nasīm Barbārī, who advocated that Arabic be printed with an alphabet in which each letter would be reduced to a single form.²⁵ This suggestion was opposed as too extreme by Ilyās Barakāt, who argued that all or most of the difficulties involved in printing Arabic could be eliminated by discarding the extended tails of the final forms of letters like ح , ع , and م , and by eliminating the ligatures such as ط and ه .²⁶ A proposal presumably similar to Barakāt's was drawn up in 1903 by the Lajnat Iṣlāḥ wa-Taḥsīn al-Ḥurūf

24. Yāfith, نجاح العرب بتحسين لغتهم , al-Muqtataf 12 (1887-88): 12-16, 223-231.

25. Barbārī, صور الحروف العربية , al-Muqtataf, 17(1892-93): 622-624. See also 689-690 and 18(1893-94): 45-50, 197-198.

26. Barakāt, صور الحروف العربية , al-Muqtataf 18(1893-94): 49-50. See also pp. 197-198.

al-'Arabiyyah of the Egyptian Government Press at Būlāq. According to Ḥabīb Ghazālah, the objective of this scheme was to reduce the number of different forms without changing the essential characteristics of the Arabic script.²⁷

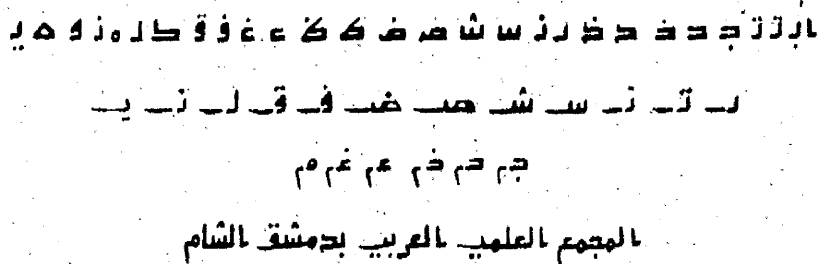


Fig. 6. Simplified Arabic for printing proposed by Khālīd al-Faraj.²⁸

Other proposals for changing the conventional shapes of the letters used in printing include one published in 1930 by Khālīd al-Faraj and illustrated in Figure 6 above. This scheme reduces the letters to a single form each and provides for the extended tails of the final forms by simplifying these to two shapes: a vertical downstroke for ج , ح , خ , غ , and م and a horizontal stroke for other letters. The scheme illustrated in Figures 7 and 8

27. Ghazālah, حروف التاج وعلامات الترقيم , RAAD 12(1932): 21-25.

28. Al-Faraj, حاجة الحروف العربية الى الاصلاح , RAAD 10(1930): 53-59. The last line is: المجمع العلمي العربي بدمشق الشام .

below and published in 1930 by Yūsuf Ghaṣūb likewise reduces the letters to a single shape each (without providing for distinct final forms) and also adds a number of letters derived from the Latin alphabet. As shown in Figure 8, it re-

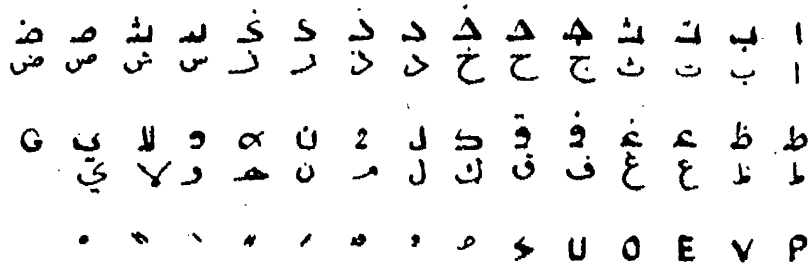


Fig. 7. Alphabet designed by Yūsuf Ghaṣūb.²⁹

tains the conventional system of vowels but would simplify the printing of these somewhat by moving the kasrah above the line (reversing it to resemble an inverted fathah).

One of the most ambitious and best known schemes for reform of the alphabet has been the "Unified Arabic" designed about 1946 by Nasri Khattar. As shown in Figure 9, it follows the basic principle of the Latin alphabet without in fact imitating it. That is, the letters are completely

29. Ghaṣūb, اصلاح الابجدية العربية, al-Machriq 28(1930): 29-34. The character to the left of the "U" is the hamzah, which would invariably be written as a separate letter, without bearer.

separate from each other, the variation in their widths is much reduced, and each letter has only a single shape regard-

وصلت الباهرة شاموليا ٥١ ٥٢ ٥٣ ٥٤ ٥٥ ٥٦ ٥٧ ٥٨ ٥٩
عشرة ركاب انكوسكسون قادمين من ليفربول لبيع بضائعهم في بيروت .
The five lines with vowel marks are:
حدثنا عيسى بن هشام قال : لما بلغت بي الغربة باب الأبواب .
ورضيت من الغنيمة بالايا . ودوته من البحر وثاب بخاربه . ومن
السفن عساف براكبه . استخرت الله في القبول وقعدت من الغلك .
بمناة الهلك .

حدثنا عيسى بن هشام قال : لما بلغت بي
الغربة باب الأبواب ورضيت من الغنيمة
بالايا ودوته من البحر وثاب بخاربه
ومن السفن عساف براكبه استخرت الله
في القبول وقعدت من الغلك بمناة الهلك

Fig. 8. Yūsuf Ghaṣūb's alphabet used in un-
vowelled (above) and vowelled (below)
texts.³⁰

less of its position in the word. The conventional system of vowels is retained, and a text such as that illustrated in Figure 9 could be printed either with or without the vowels.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 33. The unvowelled lines read:

وصلت الباهرة شاموليا وعليها خمسون راكبا من باريس
وعشرة ركاب انكوسكسون قادمين من ليفربول لبيع بضائعهم في بيروت .

The five lines with vowel marks are:

حدثنا عيسى بن هشام قال : لما بلغت بي الغربة باب الأبواب .
ورضيت من الغنيمة بالايا . ودوته من البحر وثاب بخاربه . ومن
السفن عساف براكبه . استخرت الله في القبول وقعدت من الغلك .
بمناة الهلك .

Khattar's scheme has been fortunate in that its originator is himself a skilled Arabic calligrapher and has been able

أَنْظَرُ إِلَى الْأَهْرَامِ وَقُلْتُ لِي مَنْ مِنْهُمْ
وَعَلَى كَتِفِ مَنْ رَفَعَتْ هَذِهِ الْإِثْقَالَ.
وَمَا السَّبَبُ فِي ذَلِكَ؟ سَلَابِيْن مَنْ
النَّاسِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَعْرِفُوا قِرَاءَةَ الْأَلْفِ
مَنْ صَوَّرَ الْأَلْفَ بِأَهْلِ الْمِيرُوغْلِيْفِيَّةِ، مَنْ

Fig. 9. A specimen text in Nasri Khattar's "Unified Arabic".³¹

امريكا مصر سوريا لبنان العراق
امريكا مصر سوريا لبنان العراق
امريكا مصر سوريا لبنان العراق
امريكا مصر سوريا لبنان العراق

Fig. 10. A line in conventional Arabic print, followed by its equivalents in Nasri Khattar's "Neo-Naskhi", "Neo-Kufic", and "Modern" versions of his "Unified Arabic".

not only to present his proposal to its best advantage but also to design a number of different styles for his alphabet.

Figure 10 above shows his Unified Arabic in "Neo-Naskhi", "Neo-Kufic", and "Modern" styles, and there is also a "Neo-Farisi" version.

Another proposal for modification of the alphabet was put forward in 1951 by Jean Sauvaget, who argued that

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله رب العالمين • الرحمن الرحيم •
 مالك يوم الدين • اياك نعبد و اياك
 نستعين • اهْدنا الصراط المستقيم • صراط
 الدين انعمت عليهم • غير المغضوب عليهم
 ولا الضالين

Fig. 11. The opening surah of the Quran in the modern typographic Kufic advocated by Sauvaget.³²

schemes such as Nasri Khattar's and others constituted too complete a break with Arabic tradition and were too different from existing scripts ever to win general acceptance.

31. Khattar, "Unified Arabic: Weapon against Illiteracy?" Al Kulliyah (Beirut) 30(1955): 8-12, 35-38. The text, put into conventional letters, reads:

أنظر الى الاهرام وقل لي من بناها وعلى كنف من رفعت هذه الاثقال .
 وما السبب في ذلك ؟ ملايين من الناس الذين لم يعرفوا قراءة الآلاف
 من صور الالفباء الهيروغليفية ، عن ...

32. Sauvaget, op.cit., p. 131.

Sauvaget proposed instead the use of a modified Kufic script such as that illustrated in Figure 11. The advantages he claimed for this were that it would be based on a traditional and familiar script, but would have only a single shape for each letter with no special final forms or ligatures, and would make possible the use of smaller type bodies.



Fig. 12. Two versions of the revised alphabet proposed by Maḥmūd Majdī.³³

Among other recent proposals for altering the shapes of the letters are those put forward by Maḥmūd Majdī and by Qurabian (?) and submitted to the Academy of the Arabic Language in 1958-1959 for its consideration. Majdī's design

33. Al-Ahrām, 1 April 1959. The two lines at the bottom read: الجمهورية العربية المتحدة .

for a revised alphabet, illustrated in Figure 12, separates the letters and attempts to make them all of approximately the same size in order to simplify printing. The design, however, is probably too extreme for the proposal ever to

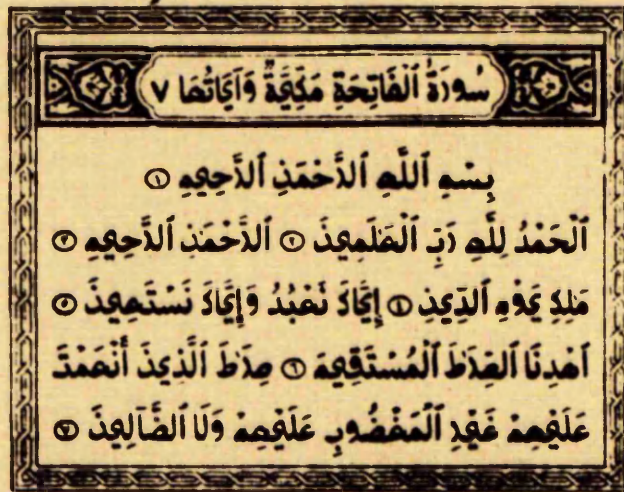


Fig. 13. The opening surah of the Quran
in Qurabian's modified alphabet.³⁴

win general acceptance. Qurabian's rather attractive design does less violence to the conventional shapes of the letters. As shown in Figure 13, it retains the practice of joining the letters, although each letter is given only a single shape. Since it completely eliminates the descenders, it would presumably make possible the use of smaller types.

34. Al-Ahrām, 1 April 1959 and 22 June 1959. There is also a second version which omits the dots under the ب and ي .

A number of reformers, in designing modifications of the Arabic letters, have also attacked the problem of the Letters & vowels. The proposal by Ilyās 'Akāwī, for exam-
Vowels
Changed ple, which has already been illustrated in Figure 4 on page 63 above, not only changed the shapes of the letters but also provided that the vowels be written as extensions of the letters. 'Akāwī subsequently produced a re-

صَوْنُ الْخُرُوفِ الْمَكْرَبِيَّةِ فِي الْخَطِّ الرَّابِعِ
 سَوْرُ الْخُرُوفِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ فِي الْخَطِّ الرَّابِعِ
 تَأْخِذُ الْمَطْبُوعَاتِ وَاللَّكَاكِ الْكَاتِبَاتِ
 نَحْمُ الْمَطْبُوعَاتِ وَالْآلَاتِ الْكَاتِبَةِ .

Fig. 14. A revised version of Ilyās 'Akāwī's scheme for simplifying the letters and showing the vowels.³⁵
 Compare Figures 4 and 15.

vised version of his alphabet, illustrated in Figure 14, in which the letters bore less resemblance to those of Hebrew, and also one for use without the vowel-letters (Figure 15).

An equally radical scheme was put forward in 1929 by 'Ārif al-Nakadī. In addition to proposing the letters

35. Al-Ahrām, 5 June 1959. 'Akāwī calls this latest version of his alphabet "al-Khaṭṭ al-Rābi'".

which are illustrated in Figure 16 and which obviously owe a great deal to the example of the Latin alphabet, al-Nakadī

وما يك الكله مشكوراً بطريقتي، سيخفف الكثير من
أشياء الطباعة بالطريقة البدلية المنتشرة حتى اليوم
في مطابعنا. فكل ما ردي من البدلية، لا يزيد كل
٤٢ حرفاً وعلمة، لصور بها اللفظة العربية...

Fig. 15. Ilyās 'Akāwī's revised alphabet written without the vowel-letters.³⁶
Compare Figures 4 and 14 above.

advocated that the vowels should become full letters of the alphabet and proposed the shapes **ج** for damma, **ا** for fathah, and **ك** for kasrah.

ا ب ت ث ج د ذ ز ح ط ي
ك ل م ن ر س ص ش ع ف ق ك ح و
و ب ت ث ج د ذ ز ح ط ي
ك ل م ن ر س ص ش ع ف ق ك ح و

Fig. 16. The alphabet proposed by 'Ārif al-Nakadī.³⁷

Al-Nakadī's revised alphabet and system of vowels were put forward as an alternative to a scheme proposed by

36. Ibid.

37. RAAD 9(1929): 660.

Zuhair al-Shihābī. This retained the present letters but used only the initial form of each, and in addition provided that the vowels should become letters of the alphabet and be used in all writing. The letters proposed by al-Shihābī to take the place of the present vowel marks were ل for the fathah, و for kasrah, and د for dammah. In addition, the hamzah would be enlarged and written as a separate letter in all positions.³⁸

رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْهُنَا
مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ

Fig. 17. Ibrāhīm al-Shādhilī's modern version of Kufic, with all letters separate and the vowels shown.³⁹

Among other proposals which attempt to deal with the letters and vowels at the same time is the scheme put forward by Ibrāhīm al-Shādhilī, which is shown in Figure 17

38. Al-Shihābī, مشروع بكتابة الحركات بحروف عربية واستعمال أجدية واحدة للطبع والكتابة, RAAD 9(1929): 654-660.

39. Ridwān, op.cit. The two lines read: رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْهُنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ

and which obviously takes its inspiration from the Kufic script. 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī illustrates a number of similar proposals submitted to the Academy of the Arabic Language for its consideration.⁴⁰ These include the schemes put forward by Amīl Ibrāhīm Maḥṣūm, 'Abd al-Muta'ālī al-Ṣa'idī, 'Abd al-Mun'im Sharārah, and others, many of which would both change the shapes of the letters and convert the vowel marks into fully developed letters.

Some reformers have been content to leave the letters of the alphabet as they are (with perhaps one or two additions such as پ and چ) and have directed their attention to the problem of the vowels. Schemes to reform the vowels fall into roughly the same two classes as attempts to reform the letters. That is, there have been some which would retain the present vowels and introduce additional marks of the same type, and others which would discard entirely the present system of indicating the vowels and convert the vowels into fully developed letters like those of the European languages.

The proposals put forward about 1905 by the Egyptian

40. Fahmī, op.cit., pp. 133-136.

Ministry of Education, which have already been referred to on pages 60-62 above in connection with schemes to introduce

Additional additional letters into the alphabet, also pro-
Vowels vided for a system of supplementary vowels, which
 made use of the following signs:⁴¹

- u as in bull (conventional ḍammah)
— u as in French pur (ḍammah below the line)
— o as in fox (reversed ḍammah)
— u as in cur (reversed ḍammah below the line)
— a as in antic (conventional fathah)
— e as in met (miniature ḍammah above the line)
— ai as in French pair (inverted circumflex)
— i as in thin (conventional kasrah)

A very similar but less extensive scheme had been put forward about 1900 by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī. This provided the symbols ^ٲ (فتحة + ضمة) for o, ^ٲ (كسرة + ضمة) for u, [×] (فتحة + كسرة) for e, and ^ٲ (كسرة + فتحة + ضمة) for eu.⁴² Al-Yāzījī had type cast for these symbols and used them for some years in his monthly magazine al-Diyā'.

41. Al-Diyā', 8(1905-06): 524-525.

42. Al-Diyā' 7(1904-05): 532-533, 8(1905-06): 528.

Other systems of additional vowel marks include the scheme published by A. S. Marmarjī in 1928, which comprised the following signs:⁴³

◌◌̣ o (inverted dammah)

◌◌̤ e (reversed kasrah)

◌◌̥ é

◌◌̦ u (inverted circumflex)

◌◌̧ unvowelled initial letter (open sukūn)

Three years later, in 1931, Shakīb Arslān reported that in writing foreign words in Arabic he made use of a system of miniature superscript letters that provided the combinations , for eu, ̣ for u, and ̤ for ou.⁴⁴ Both Marmarjī's system and that used by Shakīb Arslān were obviously designed primarily for reproducing the vowel sounds of French.

Rashīd Baqdūnis, whose proposals for additional letters of the alphabet have already been discussed above, took a somewhat different approach to the problem of the vowels. He suggested no changes or additions to the present system, but proposed a series of twelve rules for rational use of

43. Marmarjī, op.cit.

44. RAAD 11(1931): 456 n.1.

the existing vowels. He suggested, for example, that the fathah always be omitted except before the ; and ى of the diphthongs, that dammah and kasrah always be shown except before the letters of prolongation, and that most final vowels (including all the signs of اعراب) be omitted except in cases of ambiguity or possible confusion. The advantage claimed by Baqdūnis for these rules was that they would show the internal vowelling of every Arabic word but would require the least possible use of the vowel signs.⁴⁵

An almost identical scheme has recently (1959) been approved by the Academy of the Arabic Language and recommended for use in textbooks in Egyptian schools. The Academy's rules, however, add that texts of the Quran and hadith are always to be completely vocalized.⁴⁶

Other reformers have felt that any scheme for the addition of supplementary vowels fails to remedy the chief

Vowels	defect of the present system - that is, that
Converted	
to Letters	the vowels are separate marks rather than let-

ters. They therefore urge that the present system of subscript and superscript vowel marks should be abandoned and

45. Baqdūnis, op.cit.

that the vowels should be converted into letters of the alphabet which would be included in every word, as are the vowels of the European languages.

One such scheme was that published in 1935 by the notorious Father Anastās al-Kirmilī⁴⁷ and illustrated in Figure 18 below. Al-Kirmilī (like a number of other would-

ومن هاب اسباب المنايا ينلنه
ولو رام اسباب السماء بهرسله

Fig. 18. A verse of poetry showing the system of vowels proposed by Anastās al-Kirmilī.⁴⁸

be reformers of the alphabet) appears to have lacked any aesthetic sense or appreciation of good calligraphy. Not only is his proposed alphabet unattractive and entirely contrary to the spirit and style of Arabic calligraphy, but it would be completely unsuitable either for manuscript or for use in printing.

46. Al-Ahrām, 22 June 1959.

47. Al-Kirmilī, رسالة في الكتابة العربية المنقحة (Baghdad, 1935).

48. Ibid., p. 22. The verse reads:

ومن هاب أسباب المنايا ينلنه ولو رام أسباب السماء بهرسله

In 1939 A. J. Arberry published a scheme, illustrated here in Figure 19, for writing the vowels as letters

قال دُبشليم الملك لبندبا الفيلسوف وهو
 رأس التراجمة ضرب لي مثلاً لثخانتين يقطع
 بينهما الكذب الخيال حتى يخلصنا من العداوة
 والنساء فل يندبا إذا أتتني الثخانتان بأن
 يدخل بينهما الكذب الخيال لم يلبثنا أن
 بنقلنا ونبتدأنا وأمة الأمة التيمنة ومن
 ملك ديبشليمه لملكه لبندبا الفيلسوف
 وهو رأس التراجمة ضرب لي مثلاً
 لثخانتين يقطع بينهما الكذب
 الخيال حتى يخلصنا من العداوة
 والنساء فل يندبا إذا أتتني
 الثخانتان بأن يدخل بينهما
 الكذب الخيال لم يلبثنا أن
 بنقلنا ونبتدأنا وأمة الأمة
 التيمنة ومن

Fig. 19. Examples of the same text written in conventional script and (left) in Arberry's alphabet showing the vowels as letters.⁴⁹

تتمتع كلام بياض ① Ex. -v- a
 خيام مفتاح خطاب ② Ex. -a- i
 قمران تسوت شعور ③ Ex. -u- u
 أهدنا الصراط المستقيم . أحفظنا
 الجسود . سيمدح حيطاناً في طريق الإصلاح

Fig. 20. Proposal by Taufīq al-'Azm for converting the vowels into letters.⁵⁰

of the alphabet; and a rather similar proposal, shown in Figure 20, was made in the previous year by Taufīq al-'Azm.

49. Arberry, "Towards a Reform in Arabic Orthography," REI 13(1939): 97-107.

Earlier in the century a somewhat different approach was reported in Revue du Monde Musulman as having been taken by a young Egyptian, "Cheikh Dehif".⁵¹ This scheme proposed that the letters of prolongation ا, و, and ي be used to indicate the short vowels and that the long vowels be distinguished from these by the addition of a circumflex. For example, فاعِل would be written فَاعِيل, فاعِل would be فَاعِيل, and فَعُول would become فُعُول.

Among other proposals for reforming the vowel system of the Arabic alphabet are the scheme put forward by 'Abd



Fig. 21. System devised by 'Abd al-Latīf 'Afīfī for showing the vowels in handwriting.⁵²

al-Latīf 'Afīfī, which is shown in Figure 21 and which obviously is intended for use in handwriting rather than in

50. Tewfik el-Azm, "Pour aider à une réforme de l'alphabet arabe," En Terre d'Islam 13(1938): 169-176.

51. [Anon.], "Un projet de réforme de l'écriture arabe," RMM 11(1910): 448-450.

52. Ridwān, op.cit. The line reads: رَبِّي يَسِّرْ وَلَا تَعَسِّرْ .

printing, and the system for converting the vowels into letters devised by 'Alī al-Jārim and illustrated in Figure 22.

الفتحة : ح	- مثل : هيف (هَيْف)
الضمة : ٢	- مثل : ككتب (كُتِبَ)
الكسرة : ٤	- مثل : ككتب (كُتِبَ)
السكون : ٤	- مثل : فتئل (فَتْل)
تنوين المفتوح : ١١	- مثل : شراباً (شَرَابًا)
تنوين المضموم : ١١	- مثل : شرابه (شَرَابٌ)
تنوين المكسور : ٥	- مثل : شرابي (شَرَابٍ)
الهمزة الممدودة : ع	- مثل : أن (أَنْ)

Fig. 22. Proposal by 'Alī al-Jārim for converting the vowels into letters of the alphabet.⁵³

None of the proposals discussed and illustrated here

53. تيسير الكتابة العربية , op.cit., p. 84. Al-Jārim's proposal is also illustrated in Fahmī, op.cit., and in Luṭfī Riḍwān's article in al-Muṣawwar, loc.cit., where it is wrongly attributed to Ilyās 'Akāwī.

have come into general use or been accepted by the public, printers, or governmental authorities; nor does it seem likely that any of them ever will be. Attempts to revise and reform the Arabic alphabet continue, however. Late in 1958 the Egyptian Ministry of Education requested the Academy of the Arabic Language to come to a prompt and final decision on the best means of reforming the alphabet. The objectives of the desired reform were stated to be (1) to make it easier to learn to read and write the language and (2) to simplify the printing of Arabic. After studying the problem for a further six months and examining "over 300" different proposals, the Academy reported that it was unable to reach a decision and contented itself with approving the rules for the use of the vowels described on page 79 above.⁵⁴

54. [Anon.], ثورة في كتابة اللغة العربية , al-Ahrām, 26 December 1958; also the issues of 3 January, 21 February, 14 March, 1 April, 17 April, 5 June, and 22 June 1959.

Chapter IV

ACADEMIES OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

Once it was recognized that the Arabic language could and should be modernized and reformed, the reformers were faced with the question of who was to make the necessary modifications and who was to decide on the merits of conflicting proposals. Obviously, individual writers and educators could not be left to introduce new words and discard old ones as they wished or to reject or modify this or that rule of syntax or orthography as they saw fit.

The solution to this problem has usually taken the form of a proposal that there should be some kind of linguistic academy to decide what specific changes should be made in the Arabic language and to approve or reject proposals for reform submitted to it. It seems probable that this preoccupation with the idea of an "academy" owes something to the considerable French cultural influence in Egypt and Syria and to the fact that large numbers of Arabic speakers have received much or most of their education in France or at any rate in the French language.¹ It also appears that some of those who have urged the establishment of an academy for the Arabic language have had an exaggerated idea

of the powers and functions of such bodies. A writer in al-Muqtataf in 1892, for instance, informed his readers that in the European languages no new words were allowed to come into use until they had first been examined and approved by the respective academies.² At any rate, the idea of an "academy" appears very early in the history of the language reform movement and recurs constantly in the literature on the subject, and the need for such a body is generally accepted today.

The Nineteenth Century. The forerunner of the various academies and learned societies which have sprung up in the Arabic-speaking countries in the past century and a half was the Institut d'Égypte, al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī al-Miṣrī, which was founded in connection with the French occupation of Egypt in 1798 and passed out of existence with the French withdrawal in 1801. This society was not, of course, interested in the preservation, revival, or reform of the Arabic

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1. Early in the history of the Arab Academy of Damascus, for instance, the Secretary reported that he had written to the French Academy in Paris to ask for a copy of its constitution and bylaws "so as to adopt such parts of them as might be applicable." RAAD 5(1925): 328.
 2. Yūsuf Shalḥat, شواذب اللغة العربية , al-Muqtataf 17 (1892-93): 223-228, 301-306, see p. 224.

language; and it is mentioned here only as the first of a number of similar groups which were later established in Egypt and elsewhere. The Institut d'Égypte was revived in Alexandria in 1859 under the title Ma'llis al-Ma'ārif al-Misri and in 1880 moved to Cairo, where it has continued in existence (under a number of different names) until the present day.³

Starting about the middle of the nineteenth century, a number of other learned societies were formed in Egypt and the other Arabic-speaking countries. These groups were interested in the advancement of knowledge in general, and the earlier ones concerned themselves only incidentally with the language or the state of contemporary Arabic literature. The first of these general learned societies was the "Society of Arts and Sciences at Beirut" (al-Jam'iyah al-Sūriyah), which was founded in 1847 by Eli Smith and other American missionaries in Beirut. By 1849 this group had more than fifty members, including such well known figures of modern Arabic

3. A detailed history of the institute is given in G. Guémard, "Essai d'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte et de la Commission des Sciences et Arts," BIE 6(1924): 43-84; and the same author's "Nouvelle contribution à l'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte ..." BIE 7(1925): 71-93. See also Taufiq Iskārūs, معهد مصر العلمي , RAAD 11(1931): 371-374.

literature as Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī, Mīkhā'īl Mashāqah, and Buṭ-rus al-Bustānī.⁴ The society appears to have passed out of existence in 1852. It was revived in 1868 under the presidency of Muḥammad Arslān, but was disbanded by the Ottoman authorities two years later.⁵ It was once again revived in 1882 by Cornelius Van Dyck and John Wortabet under the name al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-Sharqī⁶, but appears to have finally passed out of existence after two or three years.

In the meantime a somewhat similar society with the title "Société Orientale" or al-Jam'īyah al-Mashriqīyah had been founded in 1850 by the Jesuit missionaries in Beirut but had been disbanded about two years later.⁷ In the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of other literary and learned societies were formed, of which the most important was perhaps al-Jam'īyah al-Tārikhīyah, founded

4. For a contemporary account of this society and the text of its constitution see "Gesellschaft der Künste und Wissenschaft in Beirut," ZDMG 2(1848): 378-388.

5. 'Īsà Iskandar al-Ma'lūf, المجامع العلمية في العالم, RAAD 1(1921): 97-105, 147-154, see especially pp. 104-105.

6. Ibid., p. 105.

7. Ibid.

in Damascus in 1875.⁸ Finally, a number of similar groups were formed in connection with various schools in the Near East and, of course, a large number of political societies came into being. One of these, a nationalist secret society formed in Beirut in 1875, published an Arab political program of four points, one of which was the demand that Arabic be recognized as an official language of Syria.⁹

Early Language Academies. 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, a journalist of Alexandria, is usually credited with being the first to propose (in 1881) the formation of a society to be concerned wholly or primarily with the Arabic language.¹⁰ Actually, however, such a proposal had already been made some five years earlier by one 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Bey, who called for the formation of a society of learned

8. Ibid. See also Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī, الجامع العلمية واللغوية, al-Muqtataf 83(1933): 33-41.

9. George Antonius, The Arab Awakening: the Story of the Arab National Movement (London, 1938), pp. 79-84. Chapters III and V of Antonius' work contain much information on the early cultural and learned societies.

10. For example, by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, حاجتنا اللغوية الى مجمع يوثق به, al-Muqtataf 82(1933): 291-297, see p. 293. See also Walther Braune, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des neuarabischen Schrifttums," MSOS 36(1933): 117-140.

men to whom all new publications would be submitted for criticism and who would approve or reject all new or borrowed words.¹¹

In 1881 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm made a similar proposal in his journal al-Tankīt wa'l-Tabkīt (Alexandria); and in 1888 'Abd Allāh Fikrī, now become a Pasha, tried unsuccessfully to form a language academy in Egypt.¹²

It was not until some years later, however, that such a group finally came into existence. This was the

Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah, formed by
Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah, formed by
Taufīq al-Bakrī, which was in existence from
18 May 1892 until 17 February 1893.¹³ The immediate reason for the formation of this society was apparently a speech delivered at the Ezbekiyah Club in Cairo by William Willcocks, an official in the Department of Public Works, and later printed in the Cairo monthly al-Azhar, of which Willcocks was the owner. Willcocks stated that the people of

11. [Ya'qūb Sarrūf], افتقار اهل الادب ولغة العرب , al-Muqtataf 1 (1876-77): 244-246.

12. Al-Khaṭīb, op.cit., and Braune, op.cit.

13. Al-Khaṭīb, op.cit., pp. 293-294. Other sources refer to this society variously as al-Mujtama' al-Lughawī and al-Majma' al-Lughawī al-Miṣrī.

Egypt could not hope for any degree of progress or advancement so long as they were burdened with the classical Arabic language. He recommended that the use of colloquial Arabic be made compulsory in all Governmental and commercial writing.¹⁴ It was primarily in order to combat this alarming proposal that Taufīq al-Bakrī's society seems to have been formed.

During its brief life the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah held seven meetings and discussed and approved equivalents for twenty European loan words then current in Arabic. These included مِسْرَة to replace the still current تلفون telephone, مُدْرَه to replace افوكاتو advocate, مَرْب to replace كوب club, and عاطف or معطف to replace بالطو overcoat.¹⁵ There is no record of how these twenty words were selected, but some of the society's choices seem a little odd by present standards. For instance, judging from the twenty words which it chose to deal with, it would seem

14. [‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm], باب اللغة, al-Ustādh 1(20) (3 January 1893): 467-477.

15. Al-Khaṭīb, op.cit., pp. 293-294. The work of this early academy is also discussed in some detail by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī in al-Bayān 1(1897-98): 193-200, and in ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, مجامعنا اللغوية وأوضاعها, RAAD 23(1948): 308-315, reprinted in RALA 7(1953): 123-128.

that the selection of Arabic equivalents for "bravo", "torpedo boat", and "to macadamize" were among the most urgent problems confronting the Arabic language in 1892.

The proposal made by Willcocks not only led to the formation of the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah, but also served to rouse 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm once again. In October 1892, in his weekly journal al-Ustādh, he proposed the formation of a group of men from the Azhar and other schools to select Arabic equivalents for foreign technical terms.¹⁶ In January 1893 he devoted eleven pages of his journal to an attack on Willcocks' proposal¹⁷; and in March of the same year, having apparently learned of the establishment of Taufīq al-Bakrī's society but not being aware of its demise, he set about advising the Mujtama'. Among other things, he stated that the work of the society would be unsuccessful unless it gained Government recognition and support and unless the use of the words approved by it was made compulsory. He proposed that the society should expand its activities to include all branches of knowledge, that it should be

16. [al-Nadīm], اللغة والانشاء , al-Ustādh 1(18) (11 October 1892): 169-184, see pp. 180, 182-183.

17. [al-Nadīm], باب اللغة , op.cit.

given the right to approve or disapprove the publication of all new books, and that it should conduct examinations and issue diplomas in a variety of subjects.¹⁸ Al-Nadīm was suddenly obliged to discontinue publication of al-Ustādh and to flee the country a few months after the appearance of this article, and the language reform movement was deprived of the benefit of any further advice from him.¹⁹

The next language society to make its appearance was the Nādī Dār al-‘Ulūm, formed in Cairo in 1907 by Mu-
Nādī Dār
al-‘Ulūm
hammad Hīfnī Nāṣif Bey. As a guide in choosing new words, this society established two basic rules which, with some modification or expansion, have governed the work of most subsequent language academies. These rules were that, in selecting a word for a new object or a

18. [al-Nadīm], مجتمع اللغة العربية بمصر, al-Ustādh 1(29) (7 March 1893): 673-686.

19. ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm had been involved in the revolt of ‘Urābī Pasha and presumably in other political activities. According to a biography published by his brother ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, he was exiled by the Khedive ‘Abbās II and offered an allowance of £25 a month if he would refrain from publishing anything connected with Egyptian political affairs (‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Nadīm [sic], Sulāfat al-Nadīm ..., Cairo 1901 & 1914, p. 17). According to another version, he left the country voluntarily in order to take advantage of a British offer to pay him £30 a month as long as he

new concept, (1) every effort should be made to find an Arabic word, by a thorough search of the classical Arabic dictionaries, and (2) if no Arabic word could be found, then a foreign word should be borrowed and, if possible, adapted to an Arabic form.²⁰

After establishing these rules, the Nādī Dār al-‘Ulūm apparently became quiescent for a time. It was later revived under the leadership of Muḥammad ‘Āṭif Barakāt Bey, and the members decided to publish a monthly journal, the first issue of which appeared on 6 April 1909 with the title Ṣaḥīfat Nādī Dār al-‘Ulūm. Some of the words discussed and approved by this group were listed in the second number of volume 3 of this journal. Both the society and its publication apparently passed out of existence in about 1912.²¹

Another language society, al-Majma‘ al-Lughawī, was formed in 1917 at the suggestion of Ismā‘īl Bay ‘Āṣim, and under the presidency of the then Shaikh of the Azhar, Salīm

stayed out of Egypt and remained silent (Martin Hartmann, The Arabic Press of Egypt, London 1899, pp. 22-23).

20. Al-Khaṭīb, op.cit., pp. 294-295

21. Ibid.

al-Bishrī. Its members included Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid Bey, Aḥmad Taimūr Bey, Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Dr. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, Shaikh Aḥmad al-Iskandarī, and other well known al-Majma' al-Lughawī figures. Several committees were formed, each to deal with the vocabulary of a particular subject, and a number of words were "approved";²² but the work of the academy was apparently interrupted by political conditions in Egypt following the end of the first World War. The society was reformed in November 1921, under the presidency of Idrīs Bey Rāghib, when former members of al-Majma' al-Lughawī met with "an ill-assorted crew of writers" (خلیط غیر) and announced plans to compile a modern Arabic dictionary. It was decided to ask for Government support and recognition for the project, and when this was refused the group seems to have disbanded.²³ At any rate, a writer in al-Ahrām in 1923 asked derisively what had become of the language society that had been formed in Cairo some

22. Details of the society's constitution, membership, and accomplishments are given in al-Manār 19(1334-35): 110-115, 20(1335-36): 61-64. See also al-Maghribī, op.cit.

23. Al-Khatīb, op.cit., p. 295. See also al-Istiqlāl (Cairo), 6 March 1922, quoted in N[allino], "Accademia linguistica al Cairo," OM 1(1921-22): 693-694.

years before "and then fallen into a deep sleep".²⁴ Late in December 1925 the remaining members of al-Majma' al-Lughawi met once more and again decided to seek recognition and assistance from the Government. This attempt was also unsuccessful, and nothing more is heard of the group.²⁵

Jordan & Lebanon In the years immediately after the end of the first World War attempts were also made to establish academies in Transjordan, Lebanon, and Iraq. All seem to have existed for only a short time and little or nothing is known of their work. An academy styled al-Majma' al-'Ilmi was established in Amman in 1923, under the leadership of Sa'id al-Karmi and with the support of the Government²⁶, but it seems to have accomplished little if anything and no more is heard of it. Meanwhile, another group called al-Majma' al-'Ilmi, and dedicated to the advancement of the Arabic language and literature, had been formed in Beirut in 1920.²⁷ This too seems to have been short-lived,

24. Al-Ahrām, 10 January 1923, reprinted in RAAD 3 (1923): 116-117.

25. Al-Khatib, op.cit., p. 295.

26. مجمع علمي في شرق الأردن , RAAD 4(1924): 46. See also the report from al-Haqlqah (Beirut) of 7 July 1923, reproduced in OM 3(1923): 326.

for in February 1928 yet another academy, called al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-Lubnānī, was formed in Beirut under the presidency of 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī.²⁸ This society was still in existence in 1930, but nothing is heard of it thereafter.

In Iraq the first attempt to form a language academy had come in 1913 when a society was formed in Baghdad with the object of ridding Arabic of foreign words and expressions.²⁹ This society's efforts appear to have been directed primarily toward getting rid of the Turkish elements in Arabic. Presumably the political and military events of the next year put an end to its existence.

In October 1921 the Iraqi Government announced the establishment of a committee with the title Lajnat al-Tarjamah wa'l-Ta'rīb. The function of this group, as announced by the Ministry of Education, was to "find Arabic equivalents for European words and to coin words for foreign expressions which had no equivalent in Arabic". This committee held a preliminary meeting and then apparently passed out of existence.³⁰

27. Al-Ma'lūf, op.cit., p. 105.

28. المجمع العلمي اللبناني, RAAD 10(1930): 125-126. See also LA 6(1928): 291.

In the same year a literary club with the title of al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī was also formed in Baghdad. Four years later, in 1925, members of this club decided to establish a language academy. Two preliminary meetings were held, a prospectus was drawn up, and the name al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-Lughawī was chosen.³¹ Like many of its predecessors, this group decided to approach the Government in order to obtain its recognition and support. After a certain amount of bureaucratic procrastination, these efforts were successful. The society was incorporated into the Ministry of Education with the title of Lajnat al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-'Ilmīyah, and was allotted Rs 10,000 in the Government's budget for 1926-1927. Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī and Anastās Mārī al-Kirmīlī were appointed to the committee by the Government and told to select six additional members, which they did. The committee was instructed by the Ministry of Education to examine scientific and technical terms current in Arabic, especially those used in school textbooks, and to do everything possible to reform and revive the language.³²

29. العرب واللغة التركية , LA 3(1913-14): 272.

30. Rafā'īl Buṭṭī, المحقق العراقي الجديد والمحافظ العراقي في التاريخ , LA 4(1926-27): 313-323, see p. 321.

31. Ibid.

The subsequent history of the committee was brief. The first and apparently the only task to which the eight members set themselves was to argue about each other's qualifications and to criticize the selection of members by al-Ruṣāfī and al-Kirmilī. After some months of this wrangling, the Government discontinued its financial support of the committee, and it passed out of existence in 1927.³³

Existing Academies. All the academies and societies discussed so far have been unsuccessful and have disbanded after relatively short periods. The first successful attempt to form an academy was made in 1919 in Syria with the establishment of al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī with Damascus Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī as its first president.³⁴ This academy has now been in existence for forty years and is the oldest and most respected of the existing academies in the

32. Rafā'īl Buṭṭī, المحقق العراقي الجديد , LA 4(1926-27): 385-398.

33. تاريخ وقائع الشهر في العراق وما جاوره , LA 5(1927-28): 61-62.

34. The full official history of the Academy is given in Aḥmad al-Futayyih, تاريخ المجمع العلمي العربي (Damascus, 1956). Shorter semi-official histories are in al-Maghribī, op.cit., and (in French) in Henri Laoust and Sami Dahan, "L'oeuvre de l'Académie Arabe de Damas (1921-1950)," BEO 13(1949-1951): 161-219.

Arabic-speaking countries. Its journal³⁵, which began publication in 1921, has published articles on Arabic literature, bibliography, biography, history, and other aspects of what in the West would be called oriental studies. A fairly large proportion of these have dealt with the Arabic language - both the classical language and the language of today with its many lexical and other problems.

The Academy has published lists of recommended words and from time to time the Syrian Government has asked it to suggest Arabic equivalents for words dealing with various administrative organizations and processes, for which loan words from Turkish or the European languages had hitherto served.³⁶ It has also assisted the Government by reviewing the texts of official decrees before their publication in order to ensure correctness of the language used in them.³⁷

35. Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī (Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas), Damascus, 1921 to date. A partial chronological index of articles published in the journal and a bibliography of the Academy's other publications are in Laoust and Dahan, op.cit. A detailed and complete official index of the journal is in progress, and of this Part I covering the first ten volumes has now appeared (Damascus, 1956).

36. See, for example, RAAD 1(1921): 43-46, 3(1923): 8, 12, 124-128, 8(1928): 705-712, 18(1943): 268-269, 23(1948): 314-315, 28(1953): 28-33.

Since the establishment of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo the Damascus academy has tended to give less attention to individual words or lists of words (except in response to specific requests from the Government), although its journal continues to devote considerable space to linguistic matters. Among the words approved and published by the Academy in its earlier years were إذن or رخصة to replace پارمی permit, رداء for jacket (to replace جاكت), فصح to replace بولیس police, شحنة and شرطة to replace پاس pass, مکبح for brake, مکس for customs (to replace جمرک), منکیة for logé (of a theater), مقصورة to replace منکیة for epaulette, نساخة for typewriter, and نشرة تجارية to replace نشرکولاری circular.

The second successful "Arab Academy", the Academy of the Arabic Language or Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah (originally Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah al-Malakī Cairo and later Majma' Fu'ād al-Awwal li'l-Lughah al-'Arabīyah), was formed in Cairo in 1932 and held its first meeting in 1934. Of the three Arab learned academies now in existence, this is the only one whose attention is concentrated primarily on the problems of the modern language

and the work of reforming it. Its stated objectives include "Preserving the purity of the Arabic language and rendering it capable of meeting the demands of the arts and sciences as they advance and the everyday requirements of modern life" (أن يحافظ على سلامة اللغة العربية ، وأن يجعلها وافية بمطالب العلوم والفنون)³⁸. (في تقدّمها ، ملائمة على العموم لحاجات الحياة في العصر الحاضر

The Academy's journal³⁹ and the minutes of its meetings⁴⁰ have contained articles on almost every aspect of modern Arabic, as well as lists of modern words and revivals of old words approved by the Academy and its various committees. Among the approximately thirty thousand words approved and published by the Academy have been أجمية for malaria, مصعد for elevator or lift, أنيض for metabolism, مهبطة for parachute, جَمَاز for tram, زنجية for jazz band, حقّاز for catalyst, طرّبال and صَنج and أَطْم for skyscraper, حَبَيّ for

38. Article 2(2) of the Decree establishing the Academy, quoted in RALA 1(1934): 6-11, 22-27 and discussed in Mahdar 1(1934): 98-104, 144-145, 167-168.

39. Majallat Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah al-Malakī, Majallat Majma' Fu'ad al-Awwal li'l-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, etc. The journal first appeared in 1935 (dated 1934) and irregularly since then. To date ten volumes have appeared.

40. Mahdar al-Jalsah ..., etc. (Cairo 1934, 1935, 1936, 1939). Apparently no more have been published.

microbe, سيجارة for cigarette (a committee decision in favor of لفيفة was voted down), مَدْرَع for overcoat, مَدْرَعَة for jacket, and هاربية for locomotive.

Words under consideration by the various vocabulary committees of the Academy are listed and distributed in mimeographed form. The lists of words approved by the Academy and published in its journal are offprinted from time to time and issued separately, and in 1942 a compilation of these was published.⁴¹ Finally, the Academy has for some years been engaged in compiling a dictionary of the Quran, an illustrated standard dictionary of Arabic (al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ), and an historical dictionary of the language, of which the first volume has now appeared.⁴²

The third of the academies now existing is al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī, founded in Baghdad in 1947. Although Baghdad this group appears to have an even wider range of interests than the Syrian Academy, one of its declared objectives is "To maintain the purity of the Arabic Language and attempt to make it adequate to meet the demands

41. Egypt, Ministry of Education, List of Scientific and Technical Terms Approved by Fouad I Academy for the Arabic Language during the First Six Sessions (Bulāq, 1942).

of the arts and sciences, and of the affairs of modern life", and its journal⁴³ has published a number of articles on various aspects of the Arabic language.⁴⁴ Among its other activities, the Academy is at present engaged in compiling a list of Arabic technical terms dealing with the petroleum industry.⁴⁵

General Characteristics. In most of the "academies", "committees", "societies", and other organizations described above, certain general trends or characteristics can be discerned. In the first place, most of these groups have tried to get government recognition and support, and a number of them have obtained it. It is noteworthy that of the three successful academies now in existence, all are attached to

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42. Egypt, Academy of the Arabic Language, المعجم الكبير (Cairo, 1956-). A summary of the Academy's work up to 1956 is given in Maṣṣūr Fahmī, مجمع مصر واللغة العربية , RAAD 32(1957): 57-71. See also لمحة من أعمال مجمع اللغة العربية في القاهرة , RAAD 32(1957): 82-86.
43. Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī. Baghdad, 1950 to date.
44. For a brief review of the Iraqi Academy's activities see Munīr al-Qāḍī, تقرير المجمع العلمي العراقي , RAAD 32(1957): 78-81.
45. The first fascicle of this compilation has been published as مصطلحات صناعة النفط في الاستكشاف والحفر والانتاج والتصفية (Baghdad, 1958).

the Ministries of Education in their respective countries, and their constitutions and terms of reference have been promulgated as official decrees. A number of the earlier societies went considerably beyond this and sought almost dictatorial authority. 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Bey asked for very strong powers of censorship for the academy he proposed in 1876.⁴⁶ 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm recommended that the use of the words chosen by the Muġtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah be made compulsory.⁴⁷ He also recommended that the society be given the right to censor all new publications and ban those that it considered harmful to religion, morals, or the political stability of the country. Finally, as indicated above, he urged that it be given the right to examine students entering the various professions.⁴⁸

A number of these societies have shown a strong interest in the question of money and the financial benefits to be derived from membership. A writer in al-Muqtaṭaf in 1889 proposed the establishment of a committee for research and publication whose members were to be reimbursed by a

46. Ṣarrūf, op.cit.

47. Al-Nadīm, 'اللغة والانشاء', op.cit., pp. 182-183.

48. Al-Nadīm, 'مجتمع اللغة العربية بمصر', op.cit.

one per cent levy on the salaries of all Government officials.⁴⁹ Al-Muqtataf does not report the reaction of the prospective victims of this scheme. 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm urged the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah to establish a lecture hall, "open to all members of the public except those who are drunk". Admission to this temple of enlightenment was to be charged at from two to six piastres per person, depending on the location of the seats, and the proceeds were to be used to reimburse the members of the academy for their labors.⁵⁰

'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī complained in 1928 of the reluctance of the Lebanese Government to support the members of al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-Lubnānī in the style to which their importance entitled them. The members of the Academy were only human, he informed a correspondent from al-Kashshāf, and one could not expect them to work for the salvation of the Arabic language and literature unless they were suitably remunerated.⁵¹ The academicians of Iraq were no less

49. "L.Y.", لجنة مساعدة العلماء , al-Muqtataf 13(1888-89): 831.

50. Al-Nadīm, مجتمع اللغة العربية بمصر , op.cit., p. 682.

51. Al-Kashshāf (Cairo), 2 April 1928, reprinted in LA 6(1928): 291-294.

interested in the perquisites of their calling, and the death blow to the Lajnat al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-‘Ilmīyah was apparently delivered by the Minister of Education when he discontinued the members' allowance of Rs 15 per meeting.⁵²

Another characteristic common to many of the earlier academies was that they seemed to ignore the fact that Arabic is written and spoken in not one but many different countries. While ‘Abd Allāh Fikrī, ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, and others urged that the use of the words chosen by the various Egyptian academies be made compulsory, they disregarded the fact that the peoples and governments of the other Arabic-speaking countries might not willingly obey the pronouncements of a purely Egyptian group of language reformers. The three academies now existing have on the whole avoided this self-centered nationalism, although Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī was on occasion unable to refrain from boasting of his country's precedence over Egypt in forming a successful Arab academy, "just as Syria was the first to be civilized and to become Arabized".⁵³ All three of the

52. LA 4(1926-27): 321.

53. See his report on the Damascus Academy's activities during the years 1925-1927, in RAAD 8(1928): 1-14.

existing academies have made it a policy to elect members from several of the Arabic-speaking countries. All of them, furthermore, have elected well known European scholars to membership, thus acknowledging the part that the orientalist have played in the Arab renaissance of the past century and a half.

Unification of the Academies. This appreciation of the need to cooperate with scholars of other countries is reflected in the suggestions that have been made from time to time that the existing academies should give up their separate identities and combine into a single academy that would represent all the Arab countries. A proposal to this effect was considered but rejected in February 1954 by the Cultural Committee of the Arab League. At a later meeting the Committee recommended instead that each academy should try to include in its membership representatives from all the Arab countries and that the academies should periodically hold joint meetings.⁵⁴

As a result of this recommendation, the first joint conference of Arab academies was convened in Damascus in

⁵⁴. RAAD 32(1957): 3-5.

September 1956, with delegations from the Arab League and from each of the three academies and with official observers from Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Unesco. Papers were presented on modern technical terminology⁵⁵, the conflict between written and colloquial Arabic⁵⁶, reform of the alphabet⁵⁷, simplification of Arabic grammar⁵⁸, and a variety of other topics. The formal resolutions approved by the conference included the recommendation that a permanent Union of Arab Academies be formed, under the auspices of the Arab League, to represent the three existing academies as well as those Arab countries in which no academies had yet been established.⁵⁹

Achievements of the Academies. The quantity of research, discussion, and publication undertaken by the

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55. Muṣṭafà al-Shihābī, تصنيف معجم انكليزي افرنسي عربي في المصطلحات العلمية , RAAD 32(1957): 163-168.
56. 'Ārif al-Nakadī, اللغة العربية بين الفصحى والعامي , RAAD 32(1957): 189-207.
57. Manṣūr Fahmī, الكتابة العربية , RAAD 32(1957): 104-116.
58. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafà, تيسير قواعد اللغة العربية , RAAD 32 (1957): 123-128.
59. RAAD 32(1957): 222-223. The proceedings of the conference and the texts of the papers presented take up most of the issue for January-March 1957 of the journal of the Damascus Academy.

three existing academies since their establishment is undeniably impressive. The question inevitably arises, however, of how successful the academies have actually been in their attempts to direct the modernization and reform of Arabic. To what extent have they won the support of writers and journalists and thus been able actually to affect the development of the language?

The academies have fallen far short of winning unanimous public support for their work or acceptance of their decisions. Public reaction to the work of the academies, in fact, has often been one of derision or even outright opposition rather than of support or acceptance. "Does not Arabic already have enough complexities and difficulties to plague those trying to learn and to use it? What the language needs is simplification, not added complications," declared a writer in al-Ahrām⁶⁰; and Muḥammad Zakī 'Abd al-Qādir protested against the time and effort school children were made to spend in learning and memorizing lists of words "approved" by the Cairo Academy.⁶¹ A writer in Alif-Bā'

60. 'Abd al-Latīf Badawī, حروف اللغة العربية , al-Ahrām 1 June 1936.

61. Reprinted in Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, بين الفصحى والعامية , RAAD 28(1953): 154-157.

(Damascus) reviewed a list of public lectures given under the auspices of the Arab Academy of Damascus and complained that all of them dealt with the glorious past of the Arabs and their language rather than with a variety of up-to-date subjects.⁶²

The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo has repeatedly been accused of having approved الشاطر والمشطور والكامن بينهما as the "correct" Arabic equivalent for sandwich. The allegation is apparently without any foundation in fact,⁶³ but the story continues to recur and is at least indicative of the rather good-natured contempt with which the work of the academies is often regarded. The feeling seems to be fairly prevalent among writers and students, in fact, that the lexical work of the academies is visionary and out of touch with reality, that the words "approved" by them represent an often exaggerated effort to avoid colloquial and foreign words at all costs, and that the academies are trying to impose on the public the use of what is in fact a dead language.

62. Reported in RAAD 3(1923): 207-209.

63. For a denial see Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, من عمل الجمعيين , RAAD 21(1946): 193-204. The Academy did, in fact, approve مشطور for sandwich (RALA 1: 63).

✓ The facts of the matter, however, show that while the specific criticisms cited above may be deserved, they exaggerate in implying that all the work of the academies is reactionary and overly pedantic. The Academy of the Arabic Language, for instance, has explicitly approved the use of foreign words and the creation of new Arabic words from existing roots. It has recommended, furthermore, that words already in common use should be retained and preferred whenever possible to obscure or obsolete words which may be technically more "correct". A good many of the thousands of words "approved" by the Cairo Academy, indeed, are not newly coined or disinterred from the classical dictionaries but words which were already in current use and which the Academy has merely confirmed as correct and proper.

✓ Although it is true that some of the words advocated by the academies (for example, the Cairo Academy's هاتف for telephone) may never win any degree of public acceptance, many of the words proposed have already attained considerable currency, while others deserve a greater measure of acceptance than they have so far gained. One of the chief problems the academies have had to face, in fact, has been that of persuading writers and journalists to use their

"approved" words and thus introduce them into current usage.

In this they have not been notably successful. Among the reasons for their lack of success are probably the somewhat derisive attitude with which the work of the academies tends to be regarded and perhaps also a natural human reluctance to give up established language habits and a dislike of being told how to speak or write. An equally important factor in limiting the acceptance of the academies' work is probably the fact that they have been able to develop no really effective means for publicizing the results of their work and bringing their lists of "approved" words to the attention of those who might use them.⁶⁴

64. For attempts by the academicians to appraise the results of their work and to analyze the reasons for public indifference to it, see Kurd 'Alī, *من عمل المجعنين*, *op.cit.*, and *الاستعمال محكم*, RAAD 21(1946): 274-279; and al-Maghribī, *جامعنا اللغوية*, *op.cit.*, and *حول احياء الغريب*, RAAD 22 (1947): 459-462.

Chapter V

FOREIGN WORDS IN MODERN ARABIC (I)

11
The changes that have taken place in the Arabic language over the past century or century and a half have been considerable, and it is probably safe to conjecture that much of modern written Arabic would seem strange and perhaps even unintelligible to an eighteenth century reader or to a present-day scholar familiar only with classical or medieval Arabic. The spread of literacy, the growth and development of the periodical press and the radio, the influence of European civilization on many facets of Arab culture, and the activities of the academies and of individual writers have all contributed to these changes.

This is not to say, of course, that the language is no longer Arabic, or that its fundamental qualities have in any way been altered. In spite of the alarms raised by the more extreme among the reformist writers, who protest that Arabic is becoming a mongrel tongue, a debased mixture of Arabic and foreign elements, the language is still unmistakably Arabic and its essential characteristics remain unchanged. Nevertheless, the changes of the past century and a half have been sufficient to have affected the language

in many ways. Minor changes have taken place in spelling, a system of punctuation based on that of the European languages has come into use, and there have been quite noticeable changes in idiom and in literary style. It is in the vocabulary of Arabic, however, that the results of the modern development of the language are most apparent.

The vocabulary of every living language is of course constantly undergoing change and decay and growth; and Arabic has presumably never been exempt from this natural process, in spite of the protestations of the more conservative lexicographers, who hold that if a word is not recorded in the *كلام فصحاء العرب* it is simply not Arabic, no matter what its form, derivation, or meaning. In the past hundred years, however, this development has been very considerably accelerated, partly by the continued operation of normal linguistic change, but chiefly in response to the need for new words to describe new objects and ideas and as a result of the greatly increased contact with other languages. A considerable number of new words have come into use in the language, others already in use have acquired new meanings, and many words from the European languages have been taken into Arabic. It is this last group, the foreign words, that has

excited much of the attention of would-be reformers of the language; and it is these words that would perhaps impress the reader familiar only with classical Arabic as one of the most characteristic features of the modern language.

Extent of Borrowing. Arabic is not alone among languages, of course, in making use of foreign words; nor is the entry of foreign words into Arabic a peculiarly modern phenomenon, as the vocabulary of the Quran and of classical poetry will attest and as even the most conservative of the Arab lexicographers will admit. What distinguishes modern Arabic in this respect from the language of earlier periods is the fact that a comparatively large number of such words have entered Arabic in the modern period and that almost all have been taken into Arabic from only three western European languages.

A number of the words from European languages which were taken into Arabic in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times and which are recorded in the classical dictionaries have fallen into disuse and cannot properly be considered part of modern Arabic; while others such as قميص shirt, ميل mile, اقليم region, كوب cup, and برج tower remain in common use up to the present day. Nor are the loan words in current

use restricted to those borrowed from Europe, and examples of those taken from other languages include قنبلة bomb, دستور constitution, مخدر anesthetic, اسطوانة gramophone record, كهرباء electricity, and many others. None of these, however, are recent borrowings, no matter how modern the objects or ideas to which they apply; and neither they nor the older loan words from the European languages are typical examples of the majority of foreign words now in use in modern Arabic.

The loan words that are most typical of modern Arabic are those that have come into the language from the western European languages within the past century and a half, and it seems likely that these constitute the greater part of the foreign words now in use in Arabic. Just how many such modern loan words are in use in the language it would be impossible to specify and difficult even to estimate. Brill's word list¹ indicates that of the 3685 words most frequently used in Arabic newspapers during 1938-1939, only 121 or approximately 3.27 per cent were of modern European origin, and of these 43 were proper nouns or adjectives such as بريطانيا , فرنسي , and ألماني . Of the 1000 most commonly used

1. Brill, The Basic Word List of the Arabic Daily Newspaper (Jerusalem, 1940).

words listed by Brill, 42 were from the modern European languages, and of these 23 were proper nouns or adjectives.

A more recent and more broadly based word count of modern Arabic is that by Jacob Landau², which incorporates Brill's list and adds a count of the vocabulary of sixty different twentieth century Egyptian books. Landau's count shows that of the 3596 words most commonly used in modern Arabic prose 86 or only about 2.3 per cent are of modern European origin and of these 37 are proper nouns or adjectives. Of the 1000 most frequently used words listed by Landau, only 30 are from the modern European languages and 17 of these are proper nouns or adjectives.

It seems safe to suggest, in other words, that the number of such foreign words in common use in the language is in fact quite small in proportion to the total vocabulary. They nevertheless form a prominent part of the modern Arabic vocabulary (partly because of the attention that has been drawn to them and in part merely because they are foreign and therefore different), and they are used to deal with almost every aspect of modern civilization.

2. Landau, A Word Count of Modern Arabic Prose (New York, 1959).

Uses of Loan Words. Not surprisingly, one of the spheres where a comparatively large number of foreign words has become established is that of the modern sciences and of the ideas, substances, products, and processes with which these deal. Thus we find جیولوجیہ geo-
Scientific Terms logy, طوبوغرافیہ topography, بیولوجیہ biology (obsolescent), and فیزیولوجیہ physiology, on the model of the older جغرافیہ geography.³
The Arab student of physics deals with نترونات neutrons and الکٹرونات electrons, the biologist with میکروبات microbes and کروموسومات chromosomes, and the chemist with ہیدروجن hydrogen, اکسیجن oxygen, and the ہیدروکربونات hydrocarbons. The doctor may اکسیجن oxygen, ملاریا malaria, بلہارسیا bilharzia, or تراخوما trachoma, and treat his patients with فیتامینات vitamins, اوربومیسین aureomycin, کلورومایسٹین chloromycetin, or پنسلین penicillin.

An even more numerous class of loan words consists of the names of many of those modern inventions which are one of the characteristic features of contemporary Western civilization. Along with the objects themselves, the Arab world has, for example, acquired from
Modern Inventions

3. Except where otherwise indicated, words and phrases cited here are taken from examples of actual usage (chiefly in newspapers and magazines), and not from dictionaries, glossaries, or any other secondary sources.

Europe the words for راديو radio, رادار radar, تلفون telephone, تليفزيون television, فيلم film, ديناميت dynamite, بلاستيك plastic, ترام tram, هليكوبتر helicopter, and many other objects.

An indication of the extent to which modern European civilization has influenced the everyday life of the Arab

Houses & Clothing world may be seen in the number of foreign words used to describe the buildings in which people work and live, the rooms in these buildings, the clothes which people wear, and the materials from which these clothes are made. The citizen of one of the Arab countries today may live in a فيلا villa and work in an استوديو studio, and he puts his automobile into the جراج garage or ورشة workshop for repair or storage. The house in which he lives may include a صاله reception room or hallway and صالون salon or drawing room, and its موبيليات furniture may include بوفيهات buffets, بيروهاات bureaus, and فوتيلات armchairs. If his clothes, as is likely, are of the modern or Western موده style, he will wear بنطلون trousers, كرافتة necktie, and جاكته jacket during the day and بيجامه pajamas at night. His wife's wardrobe will probably include كورسيه corset, سوتيان brassiere, and بلوزة blouse; and for winter wear they will probably possess سويتراات sweaters or بلوفرات pullovers, as well as بالطوات overcoats or perhaps even

ترانشكوتات trench coats. Many of these garments will be made of نايلون nylon, and some of them will certainly have considerable amounts of استيك or اسنك elastic.

For entertainment this hypothetical modern Arab may attend a ماتينه matinee at a nearby تياترو theater to watch his favorite كوميديا comedy or دراما drama, or he may Entertainment prefer to go to the سينما cinema to watch the latest فيلم film. If his preference is for music, he may attend an اوپرا opera or اوپريت operetta; while if his taste runs to night life, and he is not satisfied to listen to the راديو radio at home or at a coffee shop, he may spend his evenings at one of the كازينوات casinos or at one of the كاريهات cabarets listening to a جازبند jazz band.

In the field of government, the Arab world has taken from Europe not only a number of political institutions but Politics & Government also the names of many of these institutions and of a number of modern political systems and philosophies. Examples include ديمقراطية democracy, دكتاتورية dictatorship (including دكتاتورية العمال dictatorship of the proletariat), برلمانات parliaments, and the فينو veto. The names of the various modern systems and philosophies of government include also نازية Nazism, فاشستية Fascism, بلشفية Bolshevism,

ستالينية Stalinism, امبراطورية imperialism, ماركسية Marxism, هتلرية Hitlerism, and
Stalinism. The modern Arab states, like their European counterparts, are afflicted with the inefficiencies and absurdities of الروتين الحكومي government routine.

Trade & Finance The Arab world has also become a part of the modern economic system; and Arabic has taken from the European languages the names of many of the institutions and devices through which modern commerce and finance operate, such as the تجارة الترانزيت transit trade, the بوليصة تأمين insurance policy, and the ماركة مسجلة registered trade mark. Money is handled by the بنوك banks, and stocks and bonds are traded in the بورصة bourse. A فاتورة invoice presented for goods supplied or services rendered may be paid by بنكوت banknote or by شيك cheque.

The chief Western currencies such as the فرنك franc, the دولار dollar, and the جنيه استرليني pound sterling are of course referred to in Arabic by their original names. In addition, the monetary units of the Arab countries themselves, with few exceptions, carry names taken from the European languages. The Egyptian مليم millieme and جنيه pound, the Syrian and Lebanese ليرة lira, the Saudi Arabian ريال riyal, and the قرش qirsh or qursh of various countries all take their names

from the modern European languages; while the فلس fls and دينار dinar of Iraq have names derived from Greek and Latin respectively.

Along with the names of their monetary units (most of which are now on a decimal base), the Arab countries have adopted a number of the other European systems of measurement, together with the names of the units on which these systems are based. The various older local systems of weights continue in general use, but the كيلوغرام kilogram and طن ton are also widely used. Distances are commonly measured in أمتار meters and كيلومترات kilometers (the older ميل mile also continues to be widely used), and electricity is measured by the فولت volt or كيلوات kilowatt. The larger numbers such as مليون million, بليون billion, and مليار milliard also have names taken from the European languages.

Many of the Western games and sports which have become so popular in the Arab countries are now called by Arabic names (for instance, كرة القدم football, كرة السلة basketball, etc.), but other bear names taken from the European languages. Examples of the latter include جولف golf, تنس tennis (with الطاولة table tennis), هوكي hockey,

بولو polo, and سكواش رackets squash rackets. Every four years considerable interest is aroused by الألعاب الأولمبية the Olympic games or الأولمبياد Olympiad.⁴

A number of the words referring to modern occupations, professions, and the like have also been taken into Arabic from the European languages. Along the commonest of these in modern usage are دكتور doctor, سكرتير secretary, and جيولوجي geologist; and other examples include بروفسور professor, كابتن captain, and مليونير millionaire. Western military titles such as كولونيل colonel, جنرال general, and مارشال marshal, as well as the terms of address such as مستر mister, ميسو monsieur, and سنيور signor or señor, are commonly used in Arabic when referring to Europeans. Western titles of nobility such as لورد lord, كونت count, دوق duke, and پرنس prince also occur; but a number of these are not strictly modern borrowings, having first entered Arabic at the time of the Crusades.

Sources of Loan Words. As has already been indicated, one of the distinguishing characteristics of this

4. For further discussion of the vocabulary of sports in modern Arabic see Rizzitano, "Nota sulla moderna terminologia sportiva in Egitto," OM 24(1944): 36-42.

vocabulary of modern loan words in Arabic is that it has, with few exceptions, been taken from the western European languages. The great majority of the words borrowed in the modern period have in fact come from only three of these languages: English, French, and Italian (many of the words of Italian origin were probably taken into Arabic from the Maltese rather than directly from Italian). Greek and, to a much lesser extent, Spanish once served as sources for loan words, but neither of these appears to have contributed anything to written Arabic for perhaps two centuries or more; and the borrowings from German consist of one or two words at most.

While the borrowing of words has been restricted in the modern period mainly to English, French, and Italian, it does not follow that a particular loan word can always be attributed with certainty to one or another of these three sources. The three languages share among them a large number of cognate words, and the difficulty this causes in trying to determine the exact source of a particular loan word is increased by the fact that the word may have come into Arabic from two or even three sources. Thus بنسلين penicillin, فيتامين vitamin, تلفون telephone, and تلفراف telegraph may have

come into Arabic from English or from French or from both simultaneously. Radio, veto, and villa have the same form in all three of the source languages, and Arabic راديو , فيتو , and فيلا could presumably have been taken from any one of them.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that the three languages are constantly borrowing new words from each other or forming them from the same Greek or Latin roots.

Thus it would be difficult to say with certainty whether parashute براشوت was taken directly from French or came into Arabic through English, or whether tramway ترامواي was borrowed directly from English or came through French or Italian.

In other cases, however, it is possible to decide definitely or at least with some degree of certainty whether a particular loan word in Arabic has come from English, from French, or from Italian. Where a word occurs in only one of

Indications of Source	the three European languages the corresponding Arabic word obviously must be taken from that source. Thus <u>lycée</u> ليسيه must come from French, since the word has no close cognates in English or Italian, and <u>طلمبة</u> <u>pump</u> must come from Italian <u>tromba</u> , since the word has no cognates with this meaning in English or French. Similarly, where <u>truck</u> appears in Arabic as <u>لوري</u> the source is obviously
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the English lorry, while if كمين is used instead the borrowing is from the French camion.

A further indication of the source of loan words is to be found in the way they are spelled in Arabic. Thus, to refer again to some of the examples already cited, telephone appears in Arabic as تلفن and not as تلفونو, an indication that it comes from English or French rather than from Italian.

9/ telefono, and Arabic برلمان is presumably taken from French parlement rather than from English parliament or Italian parlamento, while موبيليا furniture comes from Italian mobilia and not from French meubles. Similarly, where marshal is rendered as مرشال it presumably comes from English, while if it appears as ماريشال it is taken from French maréchal; and neither form comes from Italian maresciallo. Further examples are درام from French drame (but دراما from English or Italian drama), تياتر from French théâtre (but تياترو from Italian teatro), and طوربيد or توربيد from English torpedo (but طريل from French torpille).

By one or another of these methods or by a combination of them it is thus possible to determine the sources of a considerable number of modern loan words, or at least to eliminate one of the three possible sources. Among the

foreign words in modern Arabic to which a source can be assigned, for instance, it appears that ورشة workshop, لورى lorry, بنكوت banknote, بار bar, and شورت shorts are from English English. Words which are ultimately from English but which may have come into Arabic through French include فيلم film, نايلون nylon (but نيلون certainly through French?), جاز jazz, ترام tram, and جوكي jockey.

Among the words taken into Arabic from French are دوسيه dossier, بودرة powder, أوكازيون bargain sale, تواليت toilet, دكتوراه doctorate, and بوجي spark plug. Words probably French from French but perhaps from one of the other languages include سكرتير secretary, جرنال newspaper (now obsolete in the written language), بالطو overcoat, and the names of the metric units of measurement such as متر meter, كيلومتر kilometer, etc. Others, like بوفيه buffet, كليشيه cliché (in printing), or تابلو tableau, are ultimately from French but may have passed into Arabic through English.

Modern loan words which appear to have been taken from Italian include فاتورة invoice, بورصة bourse, ماركة trade mark, لمبة lamp, مودة fashion or style, and موبيليا furniture. A fairly large number of other Italian words such as استيالية hospital, بوسنة post or mail, لوكاندة hotel, كرتينا quarantine,

and فابريكة factory have already fallen out of use in written Arabic, although they may continue to be used in the spoken language. Words such as كازينو casino, كونشرتو concerto, and سيناريو scenario are originally from Italian, but have perhaps been taken into Arabic through English or French. As already indicated, many of the Italian words in modern Arabic were probably taken from Maltese rather than directly from Italian.

Italian

Turkish

There has also been a considerable Turkish contribution to modern Arabic. This consists of two main categories of words. There are first of all the Turkish words like كشك kiosk, تمغة seal or stamp, آيس كريم ice cream, and the titles such as جاويز sergeant and باشا pasha (and its combinations بيكباشي, باشمهندس, etc.). Most of these now survive only in spoken Arabic and in the written language have been replaced by Arabic words. The second category, now probably more numerous than the first in the written language, consists of technical terms of various sorts coined by the Turks from Arabic roots and according to Arabic word patterns and first used in Turkish rather than in Arabic. The language reform movement in Turkey has rejected many of these words and some, such as نظارة government department

and حقانية justice, are now also obsolete in Arabic. Many others, however, remain in use in modern Arabic and examples include words such as مديرية directorate, مصلحة department, ميزانية budget, and جمهورية republic. Finally, there are a few words such as جمرک or کمرک customs and استمارة blank or form which Arabic has taken through Turkish from other languages.

Modern Arabic words taken from languages other than those discussed above are very few. The common قرش coin

Other Languages gets its name, of course, from German Groschen; but this is not a new borrowing. Apart from derivatives of proper names, such as نازية Nazism, هتلرية Hitlerism, etc., the only recent loan word from German seems to be سنورکیل snorkel or schnorkel; and even this appears to have entered Arabic through English rather than directly from German. The word يخت yacht is originally from Dutch; but this too seems to have been an indirect borrowing, having passed into Arabic through English.

In a few instances the original source of a modern loan word is Arabic itself, and Arabic words which passed into the European languages at the time of the Crusades or subsequently now return to Arabic as foreign words. Thus Arabic أمير al entered the European languages as admiral,

amiral, ammiraglio, etc. It has now returned to its source and appears in modern Arabic as اميرال (from French) or ادميرال (from English) and even in such combinations as الرير ادميرال

Arabic Words
in European
Languages

rear admiral and الفيس اميرال vice admiral. A similar process is seen at work with the names of the fabrics muslin and damask, derived originally from الموصل and دمشق, which now appear in modern Arabic as موسلين and دماسية. A somewhat more complicated example is that of the Greek malagma, which entered Arabic as مَلْعَم, passed from Arabic into Medieval Latin and thence into French and English as amalgam and now returns to Arabic as مَلْعَم or مُلْعَم and forms the denominative verbs مَلْعَمَ and اَلْعَمَ to amalgamate and تَلْعَم and اَلْتَعَم to be amalgamated.

Until considerably more work has been done to determine the sources of the modern loan words in Arabic, it is

Use in
Relation
to Source

difficult to reach any definite conclusions regarding the connection, if any, between the uses to which these words are put and the languages

from which they are taken. A few rather vague relationships can nevertheless be discerned. The names of articles of clothing, for instance, seem to come chiefly from French (كورسيه corset, روب robe, بنطلون trousers, بالطو overcoat) or

English (shorts شورت , sweater سويتير , pullover بلوفر), though Italian has contributed blouse بلوزة , necktie كراقة , jacket جاكّة , and the general term style مودة or fashion.

Loan words dealing with sports appear to have come mainly from English (golf جولف , polo بولو , hockey هوكي , tennis تنس), and many of the words used in commerce and finance (invoice فاتورة , bourse بورصة , policy بوليصة , trade mark ماركة) are taken from Italian or Maltese.⁵ Modern inventions such as the telephone تلفون , television تلفزيون , and plastic بلاستيك perhaps tend to take their names more frequently from English or French than from Italian.

The attempt to establish even such vague and generalized relationships as these, however, involves many inconsistencies and contradictions; and for the time being it must remain a matter of conjecture whether there is in fact any significant connection between the meanings of these modern loan words and the languages from which they are taken.

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5. Italian has also provided a considerable number of nautical terms in the spoken Arabic of the eastern Mediterranean. See the many such words listed in Spiro, Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt (Cairo, 1923) and in Kahane & Tietze, The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin (Urbana, Illinois, 1958).

Grammatical Treatment of Foreign Words. Some indication of the extent to which the modern loan words from European languages have been accepted and naturalized in Arabic may be seen in the way in which they have been adapted to the inflectional system and other grammatical features of Arabic. In contrast, for example, to English practice, which occasionally retains foreign plural forms, as in memoranda, phenomena, and bureaux, and sometimes even follows foreign distinctions of gender, as in blond(e) and fiancé(e), the practice in Arabic is almost always to make no grammatical distinction between Arabic words and those taken from foreign languages. Foreign words form their plurals like Arabic words, they are fully inflected for case, and the gender assigned to them in Arabic usually bears no relation to their gender in French or Italian.

Both sound and broken plurals, for instance, are formed from foreign words. Examples of the feminine sound plural include فيتامينات vitamins, موتورسيكلات motorcycles, برلمانات parliaments, بنطلونات trousers, هيدروكربونات hydrocarbons, تليفونات telephones, and كيلومترات kilometers. This plural form is used not only with nouns denoting female persons and inanimate objects, but also occasionally, as in

lords, garçons, and constables, with nouns referring to male persons. The sound masculine plural seems to occur only with nouns having the adjectival ending يا النسبة, such as geologists and diplomats.

The characteristic Arabic broken plural forms are also in common use with foreign words. Among nouns which refer to inanimate objects or abstractions and which take the broken plural forms are أفلام films (from فلم or فيلم), invoices (from فاتورة), millions (from مليون), points (from بنط), workshops (from ورشة), and cigarettes (from سجارة). Nouns referring to persons and forming broken plurals include قناصل consuls (from قنصل), doctors (from دكتور), cardinals (from كرادلة), and Bolshevists (from بلشفي).

Some foreign words in Arabic form both sound and broken plurals. Examples include overcoats (from بالطو), salons (from صالون), lorries (from لوري), machines (from ماكينة), and Bolshevists (from بلشفي).

Collective forms are made from a number of European words with the relative adjectival ending by dropping the

final ي , on the model of عربي and عرب . Examples include
اطليان Italians (from اطلاني), انجليزى Englishmen (from انجليز),
فاشيست Fascists (from فاشيستي), and سوفيات or سوفيت Soviets
(from سوفياتي or سوفيتي). In practice these tend to be treated
as plurals rather than collective nouns, so that one finds,
for instance, السوفييت يدرّبون قوات كبيرة the Soviets are training
large forces rather than السوفييت تدرب قوات كبيرة . A few collec-
tives in ية are also formed from foreign nouns. Thus the
plural of جوكي jockey is جوكية and of كسارى conductor or ^{Egyptian?}
ticket collector كسارية .

Only occasional instances are found where the treat-
ment of loan words in Arabic appears to be influenced by Eu-
ropean plural forms. The word جوانيتي glove(s) is apparently
from the Italian plural guanti. It is, however, treated as
singular or collective in Arabic, and forms a sound plural
جوانتيات . From English commando(s) are formed both كوماندو and
كومندوس , and the latter is treated as a plural. Thus one
finds اليهود الكومندوس the Jewish commandos (but also الكوماندو الفرنسيين
the French commandos. Such words, however, seem to be ex-
amples of borrowing from European plurals (rather than sin-
gulars) and not of the use of European plural forms in Ara-
bic, and in any case are not common.

No definite rules can be established to indicate why a particular foreign word should take one form of the broken plural rather than another or a sound plural rather than a broken one. A few general tendencies can, however, be seen. Shorter foreign words that have been used in Arabic for a considerable time (such as قنصل consul, بنك bank, and طن ton) tend to form broken plurals, especially if they appear to conform to one of the commoner Arabic word patterns such as as فِعل (فلم or فيلم film), فَعْل (روب robe), فَعْلَة (ورشة workshop), or فَعَالَة (سيجارة or سجارة cigarette). Longer words such as كيلومتر kilometer, موتورسيكل motorcycle, or هيدروكربون hydrocarbon are more likely to take sound plurals. *why the feminine plural is used*

Loan words referring to persons and ending in the adjectival ي may form either sound masculine plurals, like جيولوجيون geologists and دبلوماسيون diplomats, or both sound and broken plurals, like بلشفيون and بلاشفة Bolshevists. Others, as already indicated, form collectives, like انجليز Englishmen and سوفيت Soviets. أمريكي American apparently forms not only a sound plural أمريكيون but also أمريكيان (الدبلوماسيين الأمريكيان), but the latter is in fact from the alternative form أمريكياني.

Words referring to male persons but without the adjectival ending ي may form either broken plurals, like قناصل.

consuls, دكاترة doctors, and كرادلة cardinals, or take the feminine sound plural ending, like لوردات lords, كرسونات garçons, and كونستبلات constables.

Loan words ending in an a sound may be spelled in Arabic with either ة or ا , and follow the pattern of Arabic words in ة in forming either sound or broken plurals. Examples with sound plurals include جاكات jackets (from جاكّة), لمبات lamps (from لمبة), مودات fashions (from مودة), فيلات villas (from فيلا), and موبيليات furniture (from موبيليا). Among words forming broken plurals are نمر numbers (from نمرّة) (obsolescent), ورش workshops (from ورشة), and فواتير invoices (from فاتورة). Words ending in ة and having both sound and broken plurals include ماكينات and مكائن machines (from ماكينة) and فابريكات and فابريك factories (from فابريكة) (both obsolescent in the written language).

Words ending in vowel sounds other than a present some slight irregularities in making their plurals, perhaps because such words are comparatively rare in Arabic and the operation of analogy is not so strong as in the case of words ending in a or a consonant. Words ending with an o sound, for instance, may form regular sound plurals, as in راديوات radios (from راديو) and دينموات dynamos (from دينمو); or they may add

a ه before the plural ending, as in bureaus (from بيروها) and studios (from استوديوها). From كازينو casino are formed not only كازينوات and كازينوها but also كازينات. The example of another word ending in o, the quasi-plural form كومندوس commandos, has already been discussed above.

French words ending in -é, -ée, -er, or -et are written in Arabic with the ending يه. In the singular of these words the final ه is silent, like the ة in spoken Arabic. They differ from the words in ة, however, in that the final ه is usually retained before the sound feminine plural ending ات and is then pronounced. Examples include pounds (from جنيه guinée), buffets (from بوفيه), corsets (from كورسيه), and dossiers (from دوسيه). cliché forms not only كيشيهات in accordance with the general rule, but also كيشات and كيشيات and كيشايات.

A very few loan words appear to remain unchanged in form when used in the plural. Thus one finds, for example, both بطارية ١٢ فولت 12-volt (singular) battery and بطارية ٦ فولت 6-volt (plural) battery and both طائرة هليكوبتر helicopter (singular) and طائرات هليكوبتر helicopters (plural).

Loan words taken into Arabic from the European

languages not only form their plurals according to the Arabic patterns but also become subject to the Arabic rules for grammatical gender. The gender of a foreign word in Gender Arabic may not always be immediately apparent if it occurs without modifiers of any sort. In many cases, however, the loan word is accompanied by a verb, adjective, numeral, or other modifier; and it then becomes possible to say whether it is being treated as masculine or feminine.

A number of the European grammars of Arabic state that foreign words in Arabic are treated as feminine, no matter what their original gender.⁶ This is very obviously not so, and indeed a majority of the loan words in modern Arabic appear to be treated as masculine. The rules for the gender of loan words appear in fact to be a simplified version of those for Arabic words. Words referring to females or ending in a (spelled ة or ا) are feminine. All other words become masculine.

Examples of foreign words that are feminine (here quoted in context to show their gender) include سینما cinema

6. For example, Thatcher, Arabic Grammar of the Written Language (London, 1942), p. 254.

(فيلا مفروشة) villa فيلا , (الاوبرا الخديوية) opera اوبرا , (السينما الناطقة) ,
موضة style, mode, or (المعدالية التذكارية) medal or medallion مدالية
trade ماركة , (الورشة العربية) workshop ورشة , ('الموضة الحديثة) fashion
mark (ماركة مسجلة) , and many others. Chemical names ending in
ات (-ate), however, are treated as masculine singular rather
than feminine plural, as in نترات nitrate (النترات المكشوف) and
فوسفات phosphate (هذا الفوسفات) .

Foreign words that are treated as masculine (here
again quoted in context) include تلفون telephone (التلفون الآلي) ,
kilometer كيلومتر , (النايلون الاسود and نايلون امريكاني) nylon نايلون
aureo- اوريوميسين , (هذا هو الفيلم الثاني) film فيلم , (خمسة كيلومترات)
mycin (الصالون الاخضر) salon صالون , (الاوريوميسين الذي اشتق اسمه من ...)
telephone exchange سنترال , (اصبح راديو دمشق يزعج الناس) radio راديو
(السنترال الاتوماتيكي) , and many others.

9 Hans Wehr, in criticizing Harder's grammar for its
statement that all foreign words in Arabic are feminine,
goes on to say that those who have a thorough knowledge of
a European language may give to loan words in Arabic the
same gender that they have in their original languages.⁷
Examples of this are rare, however; and where they occur, as

7. Wehr, "Die Besonderheiten des heutigen Hocharabischen," MSOS 37(1934): 1-64, see pp. 54-55.

in الليسه الفرنسيه the French lycée or البوحي الجديد the new spark plug, they appear to be the result of affectation rather than of a natural and spontaneous use of grammatical gender.

The gender of loan words in Arabic in fact appears to be based solely on meaning or form and to have no relationship to the gender which these words had in their original languages. A considerable number of foreign words, in fact, change their gender when they come into use in Arabic. Thus سينما cinéma and بيجامه pyjama are both masculine in French but feminine in Arabic because of their endings. Similarly, French numéro, Italian numero, French hôpital, and Italian ospedale are all masculine, but Arabic نمره and استباليه derived from them are both feminine. Examples of the shift from feminine to masculine include روتين routine (الروتين الحكومي), فيتامين vitamin (الفيتامين الذي يمنع مرض ...), and بنسلين penicillin (البنيسيلين الصناعي), all feminine in French but masculine in Arabic. French benzine, Italian benzina, French corniche, Italian cornice, French tonne, and Italian tonnellata are all feminine, but Arabic بنزين (كيف يستعمل البنزين), كورنيش (كورنيش), and طن (الطن الانكليزي) are all masculine. The German monetary unit مارك Mark is feminine in German, but masculine in Arabic (المارك الجديد and المارك السابق).

Occasional instances of dual gender of loan words may be found, as in هيليكوپتر آخر another helicopter (but also هذه الهيليكوپتر this helicopter) and التلغراف اللاسلكي wireless telegraph (but also التلغراف الكهربائي electric telegraph). The use of the feminine with هذه الهيليكوپتر can be explained by the omission of طائرة understood, and presumably the second example represents an ellipsis also.

In addition to assuming the grammatical gender and plural forms of Arabic, modern loan words also appear to undergo full inflection for case. As the great majority of Arabic texts are unvowelled, this inflection is visible only when the word occurs in the indefinite accusative, and then only when the declension requires the إ ending. This happens frequently enough, however, to indicate that the foreign words which have come into the language in the modern period are declined like Arabic nouns and that all or most of them are treated as triptotes.

The fact that a noun is of foreign origin has never in itself been a bar to its being treated as a triptote in Arabic. The Arab grammarians include the fact that a word is foreign among the أسباب الامتناع من الصرف, but this operates

to make a word diptote only when in combination with one of a number of other causes, such as its being a proper name or an adjective. In modern usage, therefore, words such as (احد عشر استاذا ودكتورا) doctor دكتور, (اعطاء شيكا) cheque شيك, (تعيين الاستاذ... سكرتيرا للمجلس) secretary سكرتير, (احرف) point بنط, (millimeter ملليمتر, (اربعين مليونا) million مليون, (كبيرة من نوع ٢٤ بنطا) kilometer كيلومتر (١٢٥ كيلومترا) and (فيلم ١٦ ملليمترا) are all treated as triptotes.

The foreign names of numbers, such as million مليون and billion بليون, follow the example of thousand ألف in governing the following noun in the genitive singular.

Foreign
Numerals

Thus one finds five million dollars, خمسة ملايين دولار, 35 billion barrels, ٣٥ بليون برميل, and a hundred billion francs. These words are also, though less frequently, construed with من and a following plural, as for example in thirty million servants of the Lord ثلاثين مليونا من عباد الله and eight billion dollars. Wehr cites also billions of dollars, بليونات الدولارات, but this construction is rare.

The meanings of these numerals in modern Arabic appear to follow the French and American rather than the British and German systems, so that billion مليار and بليون equal a thousand million rather than a million million.

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Chapter VI

FOREIGN WORDS IN MODERN ARABIC (II)

In addition to assuming the inflectional endings and other grammatical features of Arabic, loan words from foreign languages undergo a number of other changes in the process of being taken into Arabic. Some of these changes arise from the effort to express unfamiliar sounds and combinations of sounds in the Arabic alphabet, and others result from the attempt to make foreign words conform to the formal patterns of Arabic morphology.

Adaptation to Arabic Forms. The term تعريب is sometimes loosely used as merely a synonym of ترجمة translation. Correctly used, however, it means the taking of a foreign word into Arabic, and it is in this sense that the term is used by Sibawaih among others. A distinction can be made, however, between الكلمات المعربة and الكلمات الأجنبية; and by strict definition تعريب includes not only bringing a foreign word into Arabic, but also altering it when necessary to conform to the usual Arabic word patterns.¹ Thus words such as

1. For further discussion of this point and of the distinction between معرب and أعجمي see 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, كتاب الاشتقاق والتعريب (Cairo, 1947), pp. 41-44.

هليكوبتر helicopter, تلغراف telegraph, and كيلومتر kilometer, since they correspond to no Arabic forms, are strictly speaking أسماء أعجمية and not أسماء معربة .

A number of other loan words, however, seem to fall easily and naturally into one or another of the Arabic word

Arabization
of Foreign
Words

patterns and may thus presumably be considered as fully Arabicized. Among examples of the more

common forms are فَعَل (bank بنك , robe روب , شيك cheque, طَن ton), فَعَلَ (meter متر and sometimes فِلم film), فَعْلَة (workshop ورشة and lamp لمبة), فَعْلَة (beer بيرة and pound ليرة), and فاعلة (yard ياردة and trade mark ماركة). Examples of the less usual forms include فاعول (gallon غالون , like فاروق) and فَعِيل (maneuver مناورة resembles a verbal noun of the III form (مُفاعلة), and an example of resemblance to the verbal noun of the X form is apparently استئارة (more often written استئارة) form or blank (as in income tax form or application blank).

Such occasional and largely accidental instances of the conformity of loan words to Arabic forms are not enough to satisfy one school of writers on the problems of modern Arabic. These reformers argue that foreign words whose use

is unavoidable should be Arabicized as completely as possible by thorough application of the principles of تعريب . As long ago as 1892, for example, Yūsuf Shalḥat was writing in al-Muqtataf to argue that foreign words should be replaced by Arabic equivalents wherever possible, but that where a foreign word could not be discarded it should be adapted to the patterns of Arabic word forms.² Another early proponent of this point of view was Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, among whose suggestions was that gutta-percha and chimpanzee should be Arabicized to طَبْرَخِي and شَبَنْزِي respectively "on the pattern of سفرجل".³ The same pattern was followed some years later by Mārūn Ghušn in suggesting that barometer, for example, should be Arabicized as بَرَمْتَر⁴; and Kāmil al-Ghazzī, in discussing the treatment of foreign words in Arabic proposed such modifications as changing automobile to تَنْبِيل (like قَنْدِيل)⁵. In 1921 the Arab Academy of Damascus, in drawing up rules for its own guidance in approving new words,

2. Shalḥat, شواذب اللغة العربية , al-Muqtataf 17(1892-93): 223-228, 301-306.

3. Al-Yāzījī, التعريب , al-Diyā' 2(1899-1900): 449-456, 513-518, 609-614, 705-712.

4. Ghušn, الالفاظ الدخيلة في اللغة وحاجتنا اليها , RAAD 14(1936): 277-282.

5. Al-Ghazzī, الكلمات غير القاموسية , RAAD 8(1928): 480-492.

decided that all foreign words should be made to conform to Arabic patterns and suggested, for instance, that شكلاتة chocolate should become شكلات (فعولات) and that بسكوت bis-cuit should be changed to بسكوت (فعلول).⁶ The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, in giving qualified approval to the use of foreign words in modern Arabic, decreed that يجوز المجمع أن يستعمل بعض الألفاظ الأعجمية - عند الضرورة - على طريقة العرب في تعريبهم,⁷ the final phrase apparently meaning that such words should be altered to conform to Arabic morphology whenever possible.

If a loan word is so thoroughly Arabicized as to meet the strictest definition of اسم معرب it should presumably become subject to اشتقاق, that is the derivation from it of

Derived Forms
from Foreign
Words

other forms such as verbs, verbal nouns, participles, and the like. Sa'īd al-Afghānī in

his FI Uṣūl al-Nahw states that the classical grammarians prohibit اشتقاق from a number of classes of words, among them الاسماء الأعجمية.⁸ The term أعجمي, however, (like

6. RAAD 2(1922): 50

7. RALA 1(1934): 33. See also the Mahḍar of the Cairo Academy, 1(1934): 422.

8. Al-Afghānī, في اصول النحو (Damascus, 1951), pp. 124-125.

(تعريب) is so loosely used by various writers that it is difficult to say just what this prohibition means; and it seems to carry little force at the present time.

A number of examples of مشتق forms derived from foreign words are in current use in modern Arabic. From فرنجي European or Westerner, for instance, come the verb تفرنج to become Europeanized and its participle متفرنج Europeanized or Westernized. نمرة number forms تنمير numbering, and from European proper names are formed تدزيل dieselization and بسترة pasteurization. The technical terms of chemistry include a number of verbal forms such as أكسد to oxidize, تأكسد to become oxidized, مكربن carbonized, and مهدرج hydrogenated.

In spite of the theoretical prohibition of اشتقاق from foreign words, a number of writers favor going much further in the direction of deriving verbal and other forms from loan words. Yūsuf Shalḥat proposed the use of words such as جلون to galvanize⁹, and Anastās al-Kirmillī declared himself in favor of تلفن to telephone and similar verbs derived from the European languages¹⁰. Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Kawākibī's dictionary of technical terms¹¹ includes a good number of

9. Al-Muqtataf 17(1892-93): 403.

words such as methylation تمثيل, halogenated مهلجن, nitri-
trification, and oxygenated مؤكسج.

Apart from the process of اشتقاق, a number of other and less basic modifications of loan words also take place. The formation of adjectives from foreign nouns is fairly common, as for example in those derived from cinema سينما (برلماني) parliament برلمان, (تلفوني) telephone تلفون, (سينمائي) (هيدروكربوني) hydrocarbon هيدروكربون, and (الكروني) electron الكرون. The ة ending is used not only to reproduce the vowel endings of European words (as in ماركة from marca, مودة and موضة from moda, and لمبة from lampa), but also to form feminine nouns from masculine loan words as, for instance, in woman دكتورة, doctor and woman secretary سكرتيرة. The ية ending, used to form abstract nouns in Arabic, performs the same function with foreign words, as in the derived forms secretaryship سكرتيرية, doctorate دكتوراه (more commonly دكتورية), Marxism ماركسية, and dictatorship دكتاتورية.

The process of complete تعريب or full Arabization of foreign words becomes somewhat easier if one believes that

10. See his comments on a speech by 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī in LA 6(1928): 291-294.

11. Al-Kawākibī, مصطلحات علمية (Damascus, 1947).

many of these words are derived from Arabic in the first place. Rashīd 'Aṭīyah, for example, argued that history was

Foreign Words
Allegedly
From Arabic

derived from اسطورة, prairie from برية, and rich from ريش, and thus had no difficulty in adapting these words to Arabic word patterns.¹²

The undisputed champion in this field of linguistic endeavor, however, was certainly the late Father Anastās al-Kirmilī, who apparently was convinced that all of the punctuation and much of the vocabulary of the European languages were derived from Arabic.

Among al-Kirmilī's etymologies are acid from آخذ, ton from طن, opera from عبرة, and French acheter from اشترى. By 1938 he had convinced himself, if not his readers, that the Indo-European languages were closely related to Arabic¹³, and a few years before his death he was occupied in demonstrating that the Indian languages of North America were also largely derived from Arabic¹⁴. Had al-Kirmilī been

12. 'Aṭīyah, معجم عطية في العامي والدخيل (São Paulo, 1944). See also the comments by Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī in RAAD 25(1950): 46-47.

13. Al-Kirmilī, تأخي العربية واللغات الغربية, LA 6(1928): 321. See also his book نشوء اللغة العربية ونموها وأشكالها (Cairo, 1938) and his articles in LA 7(1929): 593-602 and RALA 1(1934): 269-279, 279-290.

spared to us a few years longer he presumably would have succeeded in showing that all the languages of the world were in fact descended from Arabic. Any remaining problems in connection with the use of foreign words in Arabic would thereby have been solved, since it could have been shown that all such words were originally Arabic and therefore perfectly acceptable.

Spelling of Foreign Words. In the absence of any such all-embracing solution, however, a number of problems remain in connection with the handling of modern loan words in Arabic, one of them being the question of how foreign words should be spelled. While the European languages have developed various fairly satisfactory methods for accurate transliteration from Arabic, it has not been possible to devise any such scheme for the spelling of European words in Arabic, and the spelling of many of the modern loan words is very far from being standardized.

One result of this is that the spelling of loan words is often left largely to personal preference, and the

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14. Al-Kirmillī, العرب قبل الاسلام في أقصى الشرق وأميركة , RAAD 20(1945): 8-22, and فضل العرب على علم الحيوان , RAAD 19(1944): 315-321, 409-415.

same word may appear in Arabic in two or more different forms. While the spelling of some foreign words such as بنك

Varied
Spellings bank, بترول petroleum, ورشة workshop, and كيلومتر kilo-meter has been largely standardized, the spelling of others shows considerable variation. For example, film may be spelled فلم or فيلم and penicillin may appear as بنسلين or بنسيلين or بنيسيلين . Machine (مكنة and ماكينة) and helicopter (هيليكوپتر and هيلكوتر and هيليكوتر) each have at least three different forms, and microphone (ميكرفون and ميكروفون and ميكروفون) at least four. Television appears as تلفزيون or تلفزيون or تلفيزيون or تلفزة); and cement, while it is usually spelled اسمنت , has also the five additional forms سمنت and شمنت and شيمنتو and سمنت and شمنت .

In the spelling of modern loan words a few examples occur in which sounds are changed, as in طلمبة pump (r > l, but طرمبة also occurs), or omitted altogether, as in ورشة

Sounds
Changed or
Omitted workshop (k and p omitted) and فائلة flannel (first l omitted). In other cases sounds which are si-

lent in the European original may be reproduced when the word is spelled in Arabic, as in لنكولن Lincoln and كونيكيتك Connecticut. More usually, however, silent letters are omitted in the Arabic spelling, as happens, for example,

in such words as برلمان parliament (French parlement), سيكوباتي psycopathic, مليار milliard, and ايدروجين hydrogen (when derived from French). Where the European word has a doubled letter, the Arabic spelling may try to reproduce this, as in مليم millieme, مليمتر millimeter, and فيلا villa, or may ignore it, as in بالون balloon, غالون gallon, and مليون million.

The vowels in European words constitute another source of difficulty when these words are spelled in Arabic.

European
Vowel
Sounds

Since most Arabic printed matter is, of course, unpointed, the tendency is increasingly to use the long vowels to reproduce both short and long vowel sounds, as in ماكينة machine, اوتوماتيكي automatic, فيديرالي federal, and ماريشال marshal (when from French maréchal). Furthermore, since the Arabic diphthongs have come in common usage to represent IPA ou and el rather than the au and al sounds of classical Arabic, a new device for writing the au and al sounds is needed. The problem is solved by using ا and ي instead of the classical و and ي. Thus the French caoutchouc, for instance, becomes كاوتشوك, nylon becomes نايلون, typewriter is written تايبيرايتير, and Tapline is spelled تابلاين.

Additional difficulties are presented by those European vowel sounds which have no counterpart in Arabic. The

French u, for example, is often rendered by ى, but this is also used for eu; so that one finds both اوتوبيس autobus and اسانسير ascenseur. The oi combination of the European languages is also difficult to reproduce in Arabic. Point in most contexts is بنط, but in proper names and in the combination ball-point it may appear as either بوانت or بوينت according to whether it is derived from French or from English.

The emphatic consonants ق ط ظ ض ص ح of Arabic further complicate the problem of spelling loan words from the

European languages. In bringing into Arabic a

Arabic
Emphatic
Consonants

foreign word containing a d, h, k, s, t, or z

sound the usual but by no means invariable prac-

tice is to use the Arabic د, ه, ك, etc., rather than their emphatic counterparts. From European words with the

d sound, for example, are derived راديو (not راضيو) radio,

دولار (not ضولار) dollar, ديناميت dynamite, ديزل diesel, دكتاتورية

dictatorship, and دكتور doctor. مودة fashion, however, very

commonly appears as موضة as well as مودة. With words derived

originally from Greek the d is also sometimes rendered by

ذ, as in ارثوذكسي orthodox and اكاديمية academy (but ديموقراطية democracy).

In modern loan words containing an h the emphatic

ح does not seem to occur at all, and the h is either rendered ه , as in هوكي hockey and هتلرية Hitlerism, or (in words taken from French) omitted altogether, as in ايدروجين hydrogen.

With European words containing a k sound the preference also appears to be for the unemphatic Arabic consonant, as in كيلومتر (not قيلومتر) kilometer, هليكوبتر (not هليقوبتر) heli-copter, بلاستيك plastic, تكنيكي technical, دكتور doctor, and سكرتير secretary, even when the European original is spelled with a q as in كرتينا quarantine. A considerable number of words, however, are spelled with ق rather than ك , among them روق canal, قنال canal, قمل consul, (but also كابتن captain), قبطان duke (and روقة duchess), and ديموقراطية democracy.

Of words containing an s the majority again appear to take the unemphatic rather than the emphatic consonant. Examples include سينما (not صينما) cinema, سكرتير (not صكرتير) secretary, استرليني sterling, بنسلين penicillin, بلاستيك plastic, and بسترة pasteurization. However, قمل consul, صالة hall, صالون salon, and بورصة bourse, among others, are spelled with ص rather than س . Occasionally the s of a European word appears as ز rather than س or ص , as in تلفزيون television, ترانزيت transit, and فيزيولوجية physiology (the last two occurring also with س).

Modern loan words containing a t are spelled both with ت and with ط , the preference being for the unemphatic letter. Examples include بتترول (not بطرول) petroleum, بلاستيك (not بلاستيك) plastic, دكتور doctor, هليكوبتر helicopter, فيتامين vitamin, and تلفون telephone. The emphatic ط occurs in الطوباء overcoat, بنطلون trousers, بنط point, بطارية battery, طن ton, and طلمبة pump, among others. Among words in which both spellings occur are captain (قبطان and كابتن), turbine (تربين), and mail or post (بريئة and بريئة).

In deciding between the emphatic and unemphatic consonants in spelling foreign words accident, tradition, analogy, and mere personal preference all seem to play a part. In a word such as صونار sonar, for example, the spelling seems to be influenced by analogy with صوت voice or sound, especially when the word occurs in a phrase such as الرادار الصوتي (الصونار). Presumably rules of some sort are operating and are applied unconsciously by those who use foreign words, but considerable further investigation would be needed to determine what these rules are.

Theoretically, considerations of euphony and vowel harmony should be among the determining factors in choosing between alternative consonants, but they do not operate

consistently, if at all. The emphatic letters of قنصل consul, طن ton, and بورصة bourse, for example, could be explained by the influence of the back vowels o and u. The s of بوسنة or بوسطة post, on the other hand, is always س , and thus reflects not the Arabic pronunciation (with ص because of the adjoining ط) but the spelling and pronunciation of the Italian original.

Further analysis of the spelling of foreign words in Arabic may show that some such phonetic principles do in fact operate, though perhaps only sporadically. Another line of investigation is suggested by the fact that the older loan words (those dating from Abbasid times and before) seem to show a preference for the emphatic consonants, while the newer ones (nineteenth and twentieth centuries) tend to use the unemphatic letters. Among the older loan words, for instance, are قميص shirt, اقليم region, قيصر Caesar, and the Quranic صراط way (strata), all with emphatic consonants; while the newer loan words such as سكرتير secretary, تلفون telephone, and استرليني sterling are more likely to be spelled with the unemphatic consonants. This difference in the treatment of the consonants probably reflects the influence of Syriac, through which, of course, many of the older loan

words came into Arabic. In the Syriac alphabet kāf, for instance, could be pronounced as k or kh, and tau could be pronounced t or th. In transliterating foreign words into Syriac, therefore, translators tended to use the emphatic qōf, tēth, and so forth in order to avoid confusion between such pairs and to indicate that, for example, the T of a Greek word was to be pronounced t and not th. As a result, when such words were subsequently transliterated from Syriac to Arabic the emphatic ط , ق , etc. were used instead of the ت or ك .

A further spelling problem arises with the three sounds ɟ, ʒ, and dʒ represented by the g and j of the European languages. No distinction is usually made between the soft g/j of English and Italian (as in joke and giornale) and that of French (as in geste and joli); and both sounds are most commonly rendered as ج in Arabic, as in أكسجين oxygen, هيدروجين hydrogen, بوجي spark plug, and جيولوجي geologist or geological.

The hard g sound (as in غاز gas, كرسون garçon, and جوانتي guanti) presents much greater difficulties, and may appear in Arabic as ج , غ , ق , or ك . The usual practice in Egypt is to render the hard g as ج , as in سيجارة

cigarette, جبردين gabardine, and كاتالوجات catalogues; so that in fact there is often no distinction made between hard and soft g and one finds forms such as جراج garage where the same letter does duty for two different sounds. In Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, on the other hand, the hard g is usually rendered as ك , as in انگیزی English or سیکارة cigarette, or by غ , as in کونفرس congress or بریغادیر brigadier; while in Saudi Arabia it appears as ك or sometimes as ق , as in رقّ drilling rig and قراج garage. The ق is also used in فرقاطة frigate (not modern) and in قرش the name of a coin (but غرش in Syria and Lebanon). In some words the use of غ for the hard g appears to be standardized throughout the Arab countries. These include غاز gas (but گاز kerosene) and a number of modern technical terms coined from Greek roots, such as کیلوگرام kilogram, تلغراف telegraph, and فوتوگرافي photographic.

Among the other sounds which are found in European words but which the Arabic alphabet cannot reproduce accurately is the oh (tʃ) sound of English (as in

Non-Arabic Sounds	rately is the <u>oh</u> (tʃ) sound of English (as in <u>church</u>) and Italian (as in <u>cento</u> and <u>cinque</u>).
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This may be found rendered in Arabic either as ش (as in کونشرتو concerto and ترانشکوت trench coat), or as ش + ت (as in تشیکگو Chicago and تشانگ کای تشک Chiang Kai-shek).

The p of European words is almost always written in modern Arabic as ب , as for example in برلمان parliament, بترول petroleum, بلاستيك plastic, بوليس police, and بودرة powder. The ف of كوفرة bedspread is perhaps explained by deriving it from French couverture rather than Italian coperta or by analogy with the p > f of older borrowings such as افين opium and فندق hotel (from Greek pandocheion).

The y in modern loan words usually appears in Arabic as ف , as for example in فيتامين vitamin, فيلا villa, فيتو veto, شرفيات showcases or shop-windows (French vitrine), and تلفزيون television. Occasionally it may appear as و as in مناورة maneuver and واپور (from French vapeur or Italian vapore) or as ب as in بابور (an alternative form of واپور).

Of other non-Arabic sounds in modern loan words, the French liquid l (-:j) appears as ل , as in اوتيل armchair, and the French nasal n (ẽ , ă , etc.) simply as ن , as in برلمان parliament. The ng (ŋ) of English may be rendered by ن alone, as in واشنطن Washington, by ك + ن , as in انگیزی Eng-lish, or by غ + ن , as in سترلنغ (a variant of استرليني) sterling.

The letter ف y and the Persian letters پ p and چ ch may be found in handwritten work (for example, newspaper

headlines or advertisements) or in scholarly books, but are little used elsewhere in spelling foreign words. The reason is probably not so much any aversion to using these letters but simply that they are not included in the type fonts used by newspapers or the average job printer.

The formal rules of Arabic spelling do not allow a syllable that begins with two consonants, so that no Arabic

Consonant
Clusters

word can begin with a double consonant and none can have a triple consonant of which the first two are unvowelled. When such combinations occur in words taken from foreign languages, the spelling of them should strictly speaking be changed to conform to Arabic rules. In older loan words, for instance, a double consonant at the start of a word is avoided by prefixing another syllable, as in أفلاطون Plato, إقليم region or clime, and افرنجي Frank or European, or by inserting a vowel after the first consonant, as in the alternative form فرنجي Frank.

These rules are sometimes but apparently not always followed in the spelling of loan words in modern Arabic.

The additional syllable may be prefixed, for example, as in اكليشه cliché, استراتيجي strategic, استرليني sterling, اسبور sport (as in القميص الاسبور sport shirt), and استوديو studio. All these

words, however, also occur without the initial ا; and others such as ترام tram, ترانسيت transit, بلاستيك plastic, كرافتة necktie, and بريطاني British appear never to have the prefixed syllable. In these latter forms, and in those such as سنترال telephone exchange or اكسپريس express where clusters of three or more consonants appear, a strict application of the rule would require that the first consonant be vowelled, so that one would have, for example, ترام tram, بلاستيك plastic, and سنترال telephone exchange. Since these words almost never appear fully pointed, even in the dictionaries, it would be difficult to show whether this is done. In fact the rule appears not to be followed, and the common practice is to give these words approximately the same pronunciation they had in their original languages.

Still another problem of spelling arises in connection with those European words that begin with al-, el-, or a similar syllable. The difficulty here results from the tendency to confuse these initial syllables with the Arabic definite article, as in the classic example of Alexander > اسكندر.¹⁵ In modern Arabic this al- or el-

15. A somewhat similar case is that of the confusion between الماس and ألماس diamond. Here, however, it is the ad- of Greek adamas that has fallen away.

syllable is usually handled correctly in technical terms such as الكرون electron (definite الالكرون), الكروني electronic (الالكروني), and الكريك electric, although Bielawski cites also أكترود electrode. With the common word elastic, however, the initial syllable has dropped away completely, so that only such forms as استك (definite الاستك), استيك (الاستيك), لاستيك, and لاستيك appear.

Chapter VII

OTHER SOURCES OF MODERN VOCABULARY

Loan words from the modern European languages, as has been shown above in Chapter V, form only a relatively small proportion of the total vocabulary of modern Arabic. The bulk of the current vocabulary consists of those words which have been in use with little or no change since the earliest days of written Arabic and which form the material of the standard Arabic dictionaries. In addition to these two categories, the vocabulary of the modern language consists of a number of other types of words, including those which have acquired new meanings in modern times and those which do not occur at all in the classical literature but appear to be new creations of the last century or two. There are also a considerable number of words that may be termed loan translations.

Translation. The influence of the European languages on modern Arabic vocabulary is not confined to the borrowing of words from these languages. It may also be seen in the choice of Arabic words used in modern writing. A number of modern Arabic words, in fact, appear to be used as loan translations. That is, they are used with new meanings that

are direct translations of European words rather than independent developments in Arabic.

This is not to imply any criticism of the process of translation itself. Indeed translation is one of the methods recommended by the reformers for adding to the vocabulary of modern Arabic; and, for example, when Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī gives رملية as the equivalent of the plant name Arenaria, he is admittedly translating, but the result is an accurate and completely satisfactory rendering of the Latin name. Similarly, there can be no objection to such modern Arabic terms as محرك motor, باخرة steamer, مراسل correspondent (of a newspaper), or محافظ conservative (in politics). Each is a literal translation of the corresponding European word, but none of them could be criticized as an example of undue "influence" on Arabic by the European languages.

A term such as مراسل correspondent or محافظ conservative in modern context would seem strange to an eighteenth century Arab reader, but it would nevertheless convey to him something approaching the meaning in which the word is used today. Other modern usages of standard Arabic words, however, might appear almost meaningless. With these words the process of translation has been too slavishly resorted to, and

it is in such cases that foreign influences become most apparent.

Words of this type include those in which the Arabic word reflects the original rather than the current meaning of a European word or the literal meaning rather than a derived one. For example, the English member (with its cognates in the other European languages) means originally a part or organ of the body, especially a limb; but it is much more commonly used today to refer to one of the persons composing a society or party, a comparatively modern derived meaning. The Arabic عضو corresponds very closely to the original meaning of member. When it comes to be used also in the modern sense, as in أعضاء الحزب الجمهوري "the members of the Republican Party", it seems likely that it has acquired this derived meaning as a result of the influence of one of the European languages. Similarly, force is originally an abstract noun meaning strength or energy, but it has also developed a concrete sense meaning a military body. When the Arabic قوة develops a parallel derived meaning as in قوات جوية air forces or قوات عسكرية military forces, it is likely that this is a result of European influence.

Other example of derived or secondary meanings of

modern Arabic words which seem to have been developed under the influence of European languages include مدني civil in such phrases as الطيران المدني civil aviation, المهندس المدني civil engineer, or الخدمة المدنية civil service; تصفية clearance or liquidation in phrases such as "تصفية بضائع الشتاء" clearance of winter stocks" (of a shop) or "تصفية شركة الكهرباء" liquidation of the electricity company"; حركة movement in the sociological or historical sense as in حركة الترجمة the translation movement or الحركة التحريرية the liberation movement; and سوق market used in an abstract economic sense as in السوق الحرة free market or حركة السوق market movement.

In a number of modern usages the process of translation seems to have been resorted to needlessly. In printing, for example, أمهات is used as the equivalent of matrices. This is etymologically a correct rendering of the European word, but would not an Arabic word such as قوالب have served just as well and have accurately rendered the meaning of the European word without unnecessarily imitating it? Similarly, the use of مدرسة school in such phrases as المدرسة الرومانتيكية "the romantic school" (of literature) or من أصحاب المدرسة القديمة "one of the old school" is obviously in imitation of one of the derived senses of school/école in the European languages;

and in most such cases مذهب would have conveyed the desired meaning just as accurately and much more idiomatically.

Other examples of this sort of apparently unnecessary imitation of European usage in the modern language include the word دائرة circle used in combinations such as الدوائر السياسية political circles or الدوائر الرسمية official circles (instead of رجال السياسة , etc.), الملحق for attaché as in الملحق الصحفي press attaché or الملحق التجاري commercial attaché (instead of خبير or مفوض or ممثل), and حيوي vital in such phrases as "the Suez Canal is not vital to the defense of the East" (instead of ضرورية or لازمة or مهمة or some such circumlocution as (ما لا يستغنى عنه).

In a number of such cases a too literal rendering of the European word results almost in the translation of a European idiom or metaphor into Arabic. Thus there can be no objection to translating wave as موجة in such combinations as امواج الراديو radio waves or موجة الصدم shock wave, but when the word occurs in Arabic in such combinations as موجة الحر heat wave or موجة الاجرام crime wave it becomes a translation of a European metaphor and obviously reflects its foreign origin. Other examples of the influence of European words used metaphorically are to be seen in such phrases as التوتر بين الولايات

the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union", المتحدة والاتحاد السوفياتي
"the balances frozen in Britain", الارصدة المجمدة ببريطانية
"the conference re- استأنف المؤتمر أعماله في جو هادئ
sumed its work in a calm atmosphere".

Where the European model is imitated too closely, the resulting Arabic word or phrase often becomes merely a example of bad translation. When enlightened or gifted, referring to persons, is rendered into Arabic as موهوب or متنور the effect of European influence is obvious, and combinations such as gifted personalities or the enlightened class طبقة المتنورين would probably be almost meaningless to an Arab reader not familiar with the European originals. Other examples of too literal and therefore unsatisfactory translations from European models include such combinations as cordial cooperation تعاون قلبي, the mainland الاراضي الرئيسية, workshops دكاكين للشغل, and airport الميناء الجوي.

Words with New Meanings. Cases of outright borrowing of foreign words (like film فيلم and telephone تلفون) and examples of what may be called partial borrowing or the borrowing of meanings rather than words (as in conservative محافظ, member عضو, and clearance تصفية) constitute, however, only a comparatively small proportion of the present vocabulary of

Arabic. While the European words taken into the language during the past century and a half do form a conspicuous part of the modern vocabulary, the words needed to describe new objects and new ideas have in probably the majority of cases been supplied from Arabic sources. This has been achieved either by altering and extending the meanings of classical Arabic words (by the process known as مجاز) so that they serve to describe modern objects and ideas or, less commonly, by creating new words from existing Arabic roots (اشتقاق).

Examples of the modern use of classical words include some in which the modern meaning is fairly close to the original, such as استعمار ("settling people in a place") now used for colonialism or imperialism, صناعة ("work, craft, or occupation") now used for industry in the modern sense as in صناعة الفولاذ the steel industry or صناعة البترول the oil industry, and وطن ("home or dwelling") which is now used for native country or homeland (French patrie) and has acquired all the modern connotations of nationalism and patriotism. In other cases the modern meaning differs considerably from the original classical meaning, as in قطار railway train (originally "a file of camels tied head to tail"), مجلة ("any book or

"writing") now used for magazine or periodical, and طائرة from a root meaning "to blow" or "to puff" and now used to mean jet airplane.

Between the two extremes are a large number of other words which have acquired new meanings in the modern period, such as بطولة "the quality of being a بطل hero or brave man" (now championship, as in بطولة التنس tennis championship or بطولة الوزن الخفيف light-weight championship in boxing), and مسرح "a place from which one can see to all sides" (now stage or theater). Other nouns of this type include مُحَنِّف "handi-craftsman or one who is skilled with his hands" (now professional), صحيفة "letter, book, or other paper that is written on" (now newspaper), and مطار "a place to or from which a bird flies" (now airport). Among verbs which have acquired new meanings are صوّر ("to form, fashion, or make an image of") now used to mean to photograph, فُطِن ("to separate oneself from another") now used for to boycott, and مَثَّلَ to represent (originally with the meaning "to depict or portray", but now also very commonly in the sense of "to act for or on behalf of").

In many of these words the modern meaning bears an obvious relationship to the meaning that the word had in

classical times, and there appears to have been a gradual shift in meaning from earliest times to the present. The meaning parachute for مظلة, for instance, can be logically connected with the classical meaning "canopy or parasol"; nationality has been derived from "quality or characteristic", the meaning given for جنسية in the classical dictionaries; and the meaning bicycle for دراجة is an obvious extension of its older meaning of "a cart or other wheeled device on which a child or man leans as an aid to walking". Similarly, the meaning to import for استورد is clearly connected with the classical meaning of "to make something or someone to come or be present", the modern commercial sense of to insure for آمن can be logically derived from the original sense of "to make secure or safe", and to edit is a natural extension of the original meaning of حرر "to make a writing accurate or exact by correcting its faults".

It seems probable that these words and others like them have always been current in the language, that the meanings with which they are used today are a logical and probably continuous development of the meanings they had in the classical period, and that they are actually examples of the use of old words with new meanings. With a considerable

number of other words, however, there seems to be little or no connection between the modern meaning and the definitions found in the classical dictionaries. The word سَيَّارَة , for instance, occurs in classical Arabic with the meaning of "caravan" or as a technical term of astronomy meaning "planet" or "wandering star". Its modern meaning of automobile is probably not an extension or development from either of these classical meanings, and it seems likely that the modern سَيَّارَة is a new and independent فَعَالَة formation from the root س ي ر "to go". Similarly, عَصِي in the classical dictionaries is defined as "one who aids his people or party against hostile conduct". The word is no longer used with this meaning, and it seems likely that the modern عَصِي meaning nervous has no connection with the classical word of the same form but is an independent نَسَبَة formation from ع ص ب sinew or tendon.

Other examples of modern nouns which have the same form as nouns found in the classical dictionaries but which in fact appear to be independent modern formations include فَنَّان artist (usually in the feminine فَنَّانَة with the meaning artiste or entertainer), which can hardly be derived from the classical فَنَّان "a wild ass that has various sorts, or modes, of running"; جَرَّارَة tractor (a new فَعَالَة formation from

جر "to pull or drag" and not a modern use of the classical جرارة "a small yellow female scorpion that drags its tail"); طيار aviator or pilot (newly formed from طار "to fly" and not connected with the classical طيار "a spirited and vigorous horse"); and مذياع ^{or radio} microphone (a new noun of instrument from مذياع "to broadcast" and not a new use of the classical مذياع "one who is unable to keep a secret"). Among verbs of the same type are مصر to Egyptianize (a new formation from مصر "Egypt" and not the classical مصر "to make a place a boundary or limit between two things"), صنع to industrialize (a new denominative verb from صناعة industry and not the classical صنع "to embellish or improve a thing"), and دول to internationalize (not connected with the classical دول "to write the letter د" but a new and independent denominative formation from دولة "state or nation").

In addition to these words which have acquired new meanings in the modern period, one also finds in modern

**New
Phrases**

Arabic a large number of words used with approximately the same meanings they had in the classical period but in combinations which are almost certainly of recent origin. This process of combining words into common phrases is not, of course, a purely modern phenomenon; and the forming

of new combinations and discarding old ones has presumably been going on since earliest times.

Many of the combinations of words used in the classical period have fallen into disuse and would be meaningless to the average present-day reader.¹ On the other hand a reader familiar only with classical Arabic would find it difficult or impossible to understand many modern combinations, although the individual words themselves would be familiar. The words حديد , طبق , سكة , and طائر , for example, are all very old in the language and have not changed their meanings appreciably since the earliest days of written Arabic. What would a reader of Abbasid times, however, make of such modern combinations of these as سكة حديد railroad or الطبق الطائر flying saucer?

Among the combinations of words which seem to have come into use during the past century and a half are such phrases as لسان حال الوفاء المصري organ (e.g., "the organ of the Wafd party"), دار التحف museum, اركان حرب military staff,

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1. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, تطور الألفاظ والتراكيب والمعاني, RAAD 22(1947): 165-177, lists a number of phrases and combinations of words which were in common use in the fourth to sixth centuries A.H. but which would be incomprehensible to most modern readers.

and وجهة نظر point of view. The effects of foreign influences on Arabic are clearly seen in such modern combinations as ناطحة السحاب skyscraper, شهر العسل honeymoon, الحرب الباردة cold war, and الستار الحديدي iron curtain. Further examples of modern phrases which would presumably be incomprehensible to a reader familiar only with classical Arabic include مستوى المعيشة standard of living, المهن الحرة the liberal professions, السوق السوداء black market, الفنون الجميلة the fine arts (cf. French beaux arts), and الخدمات الاجتماعية social services.

New Words. In addition to the words which have been taken from the European languages, or which have acquired new meanings in the modern period, or which retain their original meanings but are combined in new phrases, modern Arabic is also distinguished by a number of words which appear to be completely new. These are the words which have been formed by اشتقاق or other processes from existing Arabic words or roots. Technically these are known as كلمات مولدة , but since the term مولد correctly used refers to any word formed since about the third century of the Islamic period, it would perhaps be more convenient to call them by some such name as مشتقات حديثة or كلمات عصرية .

The new words which are in general use in modern

Arabic (as distinct from those which have been proposed or are used by one or two individual writers) are in fact considerably fewer in number than, for example, the words from classical Arabic which have acquired new meanings. New nouns which appear to have come into use in the modern period include ثلاجة refrigerator, اتفاقية agreement, ميزانية budget, and وطنية patriotism or nationalism; and there are also a considerable number of new adjectives formed from existing nouns, such as ثانوي secondary, ثقافي cultural, and تمثيلي theatrical. Examples of the very few verbs which appear to be new are to be seen in the verbal noun تأشير visa, a back formation from إشارة as if the latter were from a verb أشر rather than from the IV form of شار , and perhaps in the verb تسهل to expedite, which may be a combination of سهل and شغل .

In practice it is often very difficult to distinguish between words which are new in form and meaning and those which occur in classical Arabic but are used today with some change in meaning. There is first of all the problem simply of defining what is to be considered "new". For example, are the forms احتكاري monopolistic and احصائي statistical new words or merely variations of احتكار and احصاء which are to be found in the classical dictionaries? The verbs قدف , رمى ,

and تأليف are of course old. Are the active participles قاذف bomber, مدمرة destroyer, and مذكرة memorandum therefore also old? Similarly, are the nouns of place مؤتمر conference and مستشفى hospital to be considered new or old in view of the fact that the verbs اثنم and استشفى both occur in the classical language?

Quite apart from this matter of definition, there is also the problem of deciding whether, for instance, a particular word first came into use in the nineteenth century, entered the language at the time of the Crusades, or dates from the earliest days of the Islamic era or before. The standard Arabic dictionaries are of course of little help in this matter, as they merely lump together as موّلد all words that are not recorded in كلام فصحاء العرب, the term العرب being defined in this context as Arabs who lived in Arabia before the middle of the fourth century of Islam or who lived in the conquered provinces (الأصوار) before the middle of the second century.² Nor are these dictionaries completely reliable even in indicating what is definitely not modern. Not only do they differ among themselves in the words they admit as being فصيح or

2. See, for example, the definitions of كلام العرب and موّلد by Aḥmad al-Iskandarī in RALA 1(1934): 202.

من كلام العرب, one dictionary including what the next one omits, but also they omit a considerable number of words which have undoubtedly been in use since the very earliest times but which nevertheless do not occur in any of the standard dictionaries.³

Because of these difficulties it is impossible in many cases to make a clear or certain distinction between words which are completely new and those which are new only in meaning. For this reason, and since the entirely new words are comparatively so few in number, there is little to be gained by trying to separate the two classes. In the following pages, therefore, no attempt will be made to classify each word as specifically "old" or "new", and the vocabulary of modern Arabic will instead be discussed from the standpoint of the various Arabic word forms most commonly used.

3. See the three articles on this subject by Shakīb Arslān in RAAD 9(1929): 178-182, 11(1931): 717-723, 13(1933-35): 391-393; the two articles "صواب" "خطأ" by 'Abd al-Latīf Badawī in al-Ahrām of 20 and 24 February 1936; and the remarks by Shaikh Ahmad al-Iskandarī in RALA 1(1934): 178-179.

Chapter VIII

WORD FORMS IN MODERN ARABIC

By comparison with the European languages, Arabic may be considered an extremely "formal" language. It attaches much greater importance and significance to the forms of words, and there is a limited number of forms or patterns (أوزان or صيغ) to which the greater part of Arabic vocabulary must conform and to which, as already shown, even foreign words are made to conform when possible. In some ways this limitation is undoubtedly a disadvantage, since it restricts the formation of new words and the assimilation of foreign words. On the other hand this formalism is not without its compensations. It results in a considerable degree of uniformity or standardization in the formation of new words, and the fact that certain fairly specific meanings attach to some of the forms (such as فاعل , فعيل , استفعال , مفعلة , and مفعول) to some extent serves the same purpose as that use of affixes and compound words which makes the vocabulary of the European languages so flexible.

In creating new words and in making use of old words with new or altered meanings modern Arabic has, of course, retained these word forms and patterns which are such an

essential and characteristic feature of the language. No new forms have come into use (although one or two of the existing ones have perhaps acquired slightly different shades of meaning); and in spite of alarms and protests at the "debasement" and "corruption" of Arabic by foreign and other influences, a review of the words and word forms actually in use in modern Arabic will show that this basic and most characteristic feature of the language remains alive, active, and unchanged.

VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

Modern Arabic makes use of most of the standard verb forms of the language. Because of their meanings the IX and XI forms are as little used as they are in the classical language, and the rare forms such as افعلول and افعلول are almost never encountered. The other forms, including the quadriliterals, are all in common use, however, and the II and VIII forms appear to have been especially productive of new words or new meanings.

Form I. Among the I form verbs used with new meanings or to describe ideas, actions, or objects that are modern are لحم to weld and أزم to become critical (with its

verbal noun أزمة crisis). A number of I form verbs are used in connection with aviation. The verb طار to fly is now used of persons, as in وزير الطيران طار الى تركيا "the Minister of Aviation has flown to Turkey", and its verbal noun طيران is the usual word for aviation. The verb هبط is used for to land and راف for to taxi. قصف is sometimes used for to bomb, but قذف (especially in the participial phrase قاذفة قابل bomber) is commoner. European influence can be discerned in the modern use of the verb فتح حسابا "to open an account".

Form II. The II form is extremely common in modern Arabic and includes a large number of denominative verbs. مصر to Egyptianize, صنع to industrialize, دول to internationalize, مثل to act or to represent, صور to photograph, حرر to edit, and صفى to clear or to liquidate have already been noted above. Among other II form verbs and verbal nouns which have been newly formed or have acquired new meanings in the modern period are أتم to nationalize, تجربة experiment, حقق to investigate, تحكيم arbitration, تحليل analysis, دخن to smoke, تربية education (the art, science, or theories of teaching, in contrast to تعليم to process of instructing or educating), رشح to nominate (for election), تصويت voting, تشريع legislation, قنن to codify, تطعيم and تلقح both used for innoculation or

vaccination, تطوّر development (transitive, as opposed to development in the intransitive sense), segregation or discrimination (as in التمييز العنصري "racial discrimination"), report, تقرير forestation, sterilization, تكيف cost or expense, مَوَّلَ to finance, تنسيق to coordinate, نقّد to set type, توظيف hiring or employment (the intransitive توظف also occurs but is less common), and ولّد to generate (especially of electric, atomic, or other types of power or energy). A feminine form of the II verbal noun is seen in words such as تسريحة coiffure, تقليعة innovation or novelty, and تشكيلة formation (as in تشكيلة من طائرات المطاردة "a formation of pursuit planes").

Form III. Verbs and verbal nouns of the III form with typically modern meanings include محاضرة address or lecture, مخاطبة communication, مصادقة approval, عالج to treat (of subjects or topics as well as of sick persons), مظاهرة demonstration, قاطع to boycott, ملاكمة boxing, and مواصلات communications.

Form IV. Typically modern examples of the IV form include أبرق to telegraph, أبرم to ratify, أذاع to broadcast, أعاض first aid, أضرب to go on strike, أعدم to execute, إعانة subsidy, and امضاء signature.

Form V. Verbs and verbal nouns of the V form include تَحْتَس naturalization, تَحْتَرِي to investigate, تَحْقِظَات reservations, تَحْصِي specialization, تَزَلِج to ski, تَضَخَم inflation (economic), تَطَوَّر development, and تَقَدَّم progress.

Forms VI and VII. Among examples of the VI form are تَشَاؤَم pessimism, تَفَاؤُل optimism, تَبَادُل exchange (as in تَبَادُل التَّمْثِيل "the exchange of diplomatic representation"), and تَعَاوُن cooperation. Verbal nouns of the VII form include تَزَلِاق skating, تَدْفَاع propulsion, تَشَقَاق fission, and تَغْلَاب revolution or coup d'état.

Form VIII. Verbs and verbal nouns of the VIII form are comparatively common in modern Arabic, and examples include تَحَالُف coalition, تَحْتَرِاق combustion (as in مَحْرَك التَّحْتَرِاق الدَّاخِلِي "internal combustion engine"), تَحْتِلَال occupation (of a country), تَحْتِرَاع invention, تَحْتِرَال stenography or shorthand, تَعْتَدَاء aggression, تَقْرَاح proposal, تَقْرَاع vote or ballot, تَعْتِيز concession, تَعْتِيز election, and تَعْتِيز mandate.

Form X. Examples of the X form in modern Arabic include تَسْتَعْمَار imperialism or colonialism, تَسْتِهْلَاك consumption (also used as a technical term in finance to mean depreciation or amortization), تَسْتَفْتَاء plebiscite, تَسْتِغْلَال and تَسْتِغَار

both used to mean development or exploitation (of natural resources), استورد to import, and استشراف orientalism.

Other Verbal Forms. Modern quadriliteral verbs in use in the language include such forms as كبرتة sulfurization or vulcanization, كهرب to electrify (with an intransitive form تكهرب to be electrified), and a number of scientific terms of European origin such as بستر pasteurization, هدرجة hydrogenation, and بلمرة polymerization. One also finds a few quasi-quadriliteral back formations such as نركز to be centered¹, as well as the curious verb تزلج to ski, which seems to contain elements of زحف to creep or crawl, زحل to shift or slip, زلف to roll down a slope, and زلج , زلخ , and زلق all meaning to slip or slide.

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE FORMS

While the Arabic verb plays such an important and prominent part in the language (both grammatically and as a source for derivation of other words), it is the nouns and adjectives that form the greater part of the distinctively

1. For a discussion of verbs of this form (e.g., تذهب and تسلطن) see 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, تأصيل أصل قاعدة توهم الاصاله , في اللغة RAAD 5(1925): 205-215, and أو انجذاب الطبع , RAAD 10(1930): 129-137.

modern vocabulary of Arabic. It has been the concrete and material objects of modern civilization, as well as its new theories and ideas and its new social, economic, and political institutions, that have so profoundly affected the culture of the Arab countries during the past century; and to describe these the language has been called upon to provide new nouns and adjectives or to adapt existing ones.

Machines and Instruments. One of the problems the Arabic vocabulary has been faced with in the modern period is that of providing words for the hundreds of new machines, instruments, tools, and other devices that have been invented since the beginning of the industrial revolution. The language has, of course, had the various forms of the noun of instrument (اسم الآلة) available for just such words; and in fact these and a number of other forms have been used.

All three forms of the noun of instrument are widely used in modern Arabic. The Academy of the Arabic Language

Nouns of Instrument in Cairo has tried to standardize the use of these forms to some extent by deciding that the مفعول

form should be used as the equivalent of the European suffix -scope (as in مقراب telescope, مجهر microscope, and مطياف spectroscope), while the مفعول form should be used for the

suffix -meter (as in مقياس barometer, متر thermometer, and مقياس chronometer) and the مفعلة form for the suffix -graph (as in مقياس seismograph and متر telegraph).²

While dealing thus with three specific suffixes, however, the Academy also decreed that as a general rule established usage should be followed in choosing among the three forms, and that if no noun of instrument was known for a particular verb then any of the three forms could be used.³ In practice all three forms are common in modern Arabic and appear to be used indiscriminately. With the مفعلة form, for instance, one finds مجهري (also مُجهر) microscope, مخليج cotton gin, مشد corset, مصعد (also مصعدة) lift or elevator, مضرب tennis racket, and مفك screwdriver. Examples of the مفعلة form include مدفأة stove, مروحة fan or propeller, مضخة pump, مطفأة fire extinguisher, and مظلة parachute; and among modern words of the مفعلة form are منظار (also منظرة) telescope, مذياع microphone or loudspeaker, and مصباح (also مصيح) light bulb.

2. RALA 5(1948): 11, 37-39.

3. RALA 1(1934): 35, and see also the discussion of this point by members of the Academy in Mahdar 1(1934): 358-360, 365-367, 391-397. For general discussion of the noun of instrument, its correct forms, and proper use, see RAAD 7(1927): 49-61; LA 5(1927): 16-22; and Mahdar 1(1934): 371-378, 381-391.

The names of modern machines, instruments, and similar devices are not all of the noun of instrument form. Among others, for example, the فعالة form is very widely used

Intensive and seems to be somewhat more common in modern
فعالة Form Arabic than it is in the classical literature.

Although it is not, of course, a noun of instrument but an intensive, one of the اسماء المبالغة, it is frequently used in modern Arabic almost as an alternative form of the noun of instrument.

Some trace of the original intensive meaning of the فعالة form is perhaps to be seen in the fact that it is most often used for the names of machines characterized by rapid or constant motion. It is found, for instance, in such words as جرارة tractor, جواله motorcycle, دبابة military tank, دراجة bicycle, سيارة automobile, عدادة counter or meter, غسالة washing machine, غواصة submarine, فراطة grinder, كباسة compressor, and نفاثة jet airplane. Its use is not entirely restricted to such actively moving devices, however, and one also finds the form used in such words as ثلاجة refrigerator, حالة garter or suspender, ساعة telephone receiver or stethoscope, قطارة medicine dropper, كشاف searchlight, نظارة eyeglasses, and لعة (or قداحة) cigarette lighter.

The participial forms are also in common use to describe modern machines, instruments, tools, and so forth. A few of these, such as مدّعة battleship, مستّس revolver (compare English six-shooter), and مصّعة armored car, are of the

Participles passive (اسم المفعول) form. Because of the meanings of the words involved, however, the active

(اسم الفاعل) is much commoner. Examples of active participles in modern usage include باخرة steamship, محرك motor, حافلة bus, محول electric transformer, منطاد balloon, طائرة airplane, مقاتلة fighter plane, قاذفة bomber, قاطرة locomotive, منبه alarm clock, and مولّد generator. Many of these, it will be noted, are used in the feminine, presumably because of the ellipsis of some feminine noun such as آلة, سفينة, or سيارة understood.

Names for modern mechanical and other objects are also provided by combining two or more words to form descriptive phrases such as كاسحة loudspeaker, مكبر الصوت

Combinations ناطحة minesweeper, كاسحة ثلج icebreaker, الالغام skyscraper, and ناقلة الزيت tankship. Combinations with general terms such as آلة, جهاز, مقياس and the like are especially common. Among combinations with آلة are آلة تصوير camera, آلة حاسبة adding machine or calculator, آلة كاتبة typewriter, آلة خياطة sewing machine, آلة شفافة vacuum cleaner, and

جهاز include crane or derrick. Phrases formed with of حكيّف آلة رافعة
جهاز تكييف الهواء radio, جهاز لاسلكي telephone instrument, جهاز تليفون
air conditioner, and جهاز للعرض السينمائي movie projector; while
combinations with مقياس include such terms as السرعة speed-
ometer, مقياس الاهتزازات الارضية seismograph, مقياس الحرارة thermometer,
and مقياس الرطوبة hygrometer.

Place and Time. The forms indicating place or time
(اسماء المكان والزمان) are also widely used in modern Arabic, and
the formation of new words of this type from concrete nouns
(اسماء الاعيان) has been approved by the Academy of the Arabic
Language ⁴. للمكان الذي تكثر فيه هذه الاعيان Examples from modern
usage are common and include such words as متحف museum, مجمع
academy, مزاد (or مزاد علني) auction, مصرف bank, مصفى refinery,
مطعم restaurant, مطبعة printing press, مصنع and معمل factory or plant,
معرض exhibition or exposition, مطار airport, معهد
institute, مكتب office, مكتبة library or bookshop, ملجأ air raid
shelter, ملعب playground or playing field, مرصد observatory,
مرآب garage, and موقف which is used both for situation (حالة =)
and for one's attitude or position toward some institution,
idea, or situation. Modern nouns of place from increased

4. RALA 2(1935): 35. See also the comments by Ahmad al-Khidr Husain in RALA 2(1935): 50-53.

forms of the verb include مؤتمر conference or congress, مختبر laboratory, مستشفى hospital, and مستوصف dispensary or clinic.

A number of frequently used combinations are also formed with nouns of place and time, and examples of these include such phrases as تكرير refinery and combinations with محطة station (as in محطة الإذاعة broadcasting station, محطة الضخ pump station, and محطة توليد الكهرباء electric generating station) and مجلس council (as in مجلس العموم House of Commons, مجلس النواب House of Representatives, and مجلس الأمن Security Council), and العنقبات الهوائية air pockets.

مفعلة
مفعلة
AmccaaC

Persons and Occupations. In addition to providing names for the new mechanical and other inanimate objects of modern civilization, Arabic has also been required to supply terms for the many new occupations and professions typical of the present-day world. As in classical Arabic, the مفعلة

فعالة form has been used for this purpose, and modern examples of this use include سياسة in the sense of politics, رعاية advertising, publicity, or propaganda, سياحة touring or tourism, صحافة journalism, كشافة scouting, and وصاية trusteeship. The مفعلة form is also to be found used for concrete objects like عيادة clinic as well as for abstractions such as وراثية heredity (in genetics).

To refer to the persons who practice these new occupations or professions use is sometimes made of the classical

فَعَال pattern, and among modern examples of this form are such words as دَقَّان undertaker, طيار aviator or pilot, فنان artist(e), كشاف boy scout, and لحام welder.

The فَعَال form is, however, somewhat restricted in its usefulness, and in practice nouns and adjectives that

Participles refer to persons are more often found to be of one of the participial forms. These may be of the passive participle (اسم المفعول) form as in مَفُوض minister or envoy, ملحق attaché, مرشح nominee or candidate, مُثَقَّف cultured, and موظف or مستخدم employee. Much more commonly, however, the active (اسم الفاعل) is used, and examples from modern usage include مُحترف professional, محام lawyer, مُتَخَصِّص specialist, مذيع radio announcer or broadcaster, سائح tourist, مُشْرِق orientalist, مُشترك subscriber, مُضرب striker, مُضيفة air-line hostess or stewardess, ناخب voter or elector, نادل waiter, منسق coordinator, and منضد typesetter.

Other forms used to describe persons include the adjectival فَعِيل form, as in خبير expert, عميل customer, هوي amateur, and خريج graduate (of a university). The adjectival يَاء النسبة form is also very commonly used, and among current

examples are academician اخصائي جمعي, statistician احصائي, specialist اخصائي or reactionary رجعي, socialist اشتراكي, communist شيوعي, journalist صحافي (less commonly but more properly صحافي), Zionist صهيوني, nihilist عدمي, and nationalist وطني or patriot.

Other Uses of the Relative Adjective. The use of the adjectival النسبة form is not, of course, restricted to words referring to persons. Among other modern examples of this form are words such as regional اقليمي, automatic آلي or mechanical احتكاري, international اقليمي and social اجتماعي, monopolistic احتكاري, governmental حكومي, local محلي, administrative اداري, atomic ذري, official رسمي, athletic رياضي or sporting رياضي, industrial صناعي, modern عصري, organic عضوي, technical فني, economic اقتصادي, electrical كهربائي, and preliminary تمهيدي.

From words ending in the adjectival ي, abstract nouns are formed by the addition of the feminine ة ending.

Abstract Nouns This is a useful device for the formation of new words and it is not, of course, a new form in the language. It appears, however, to be much more frequently used in modern Arabic than it was in earlier periods of the language and in fact seems sometimes to be used needlessly

and to excess as, for example, when عملية is used for operation instead of عمل, امكانية instead of امكان for possibility, استعمارية instead of استعمار imperialism, and كهربائية instead of كهرباء electricity.

Among the very many other words of this form in use in modern Arabic are استاذية professorship, اولوية or اولوية priority or preference, جنسية nationality, حيوية vitality, دستورية constitutionality, دولية internationalism, مركزية centralism or centralization, مسئولية responsibility, شخصية personality (both as an abstract noun and as an equivalent of person), مشروعية legality, اشتراكية socialism, شيوعية communism, صلاحيية (often in the plural) terms of reference, عضوية membership, اغلبيه majority, فردية individualism or individuality, فوضوية anarchism, اقدمية seniority, اكثرية plurality or majority, نسبية relativity, and وطنية patriotism or nationalism.

A number of modern words of this type have been created by adding the ية ending to foreign words, so that one finds forms such as سكرتيرية secretaryship or secretariat, رومانتيكية romanticism, دكتاتورية dictatorship, ديموقراطية democracy, ستالينية Stalinism, نازية Nazism, and مارشالية marshaldom.

The use of the ية form is not entirely restricted to

abstract nouns, however. Some nouns of this type, such as حولية annual or yearbook, refer to concrete objects, while a number of others such as برقية telegram, مسرحية play or drama, ميزانية budget, and اتفاقية agreement seem to be on the borderline between the two classes. Still others are collectives or quasi-plurals, and modern examples of these include words such as بلدية municipality, مدفعية artillery, مديرية directorate, ارسالية mission (as in الارساليات الكاثوليكية "the Catholic missions"), سداسية sextet (as in سداسيات كرة القدم "football sextets"), legation, أقلية minority (as in الاقليات اليهودية "the Jewish minorities"), كلية faculty or college, and the names of government ministries such as بحرية Navy, خارجية Foreign Affairs, داخلية Internal Affairs, and مالية Finance.

The feminine plural of the relative النسبة ya form is sometimes used in classical Arabic to refer to a group of writings by a single writer or on one subject or of a single type, as in زهديات, مفضليات, خمريات.

Plurals in حيات ya

This usage is still current in modern Arabic, as in الريحانيات "a collection of the writings of Amīn al-Raiḥānī", and from it presumably are derived such modern newspaper usages as محليات local news and اجتماعيات social news. Another modern use of this form is to be seen in the names of various sciences

or bodies of knowledge such as الاقتصاديات economics, الأدبيات literature, المعدنيات mineralogy, المشقيات oriental studies, and النميات numismatics, on the model of the older الرياضيات mathematics and الطبيعات physics. These are found used both alone and in combination with علم science, as in علم النميات numismatics, علم النفسيات psychology, and so forth.

Other Word Forms. The various types mentioned above by no means exhaust the list of word forms current in modern Arabic. The compilation of a complete list of such forms would serve no useful purpose, but the examples listed below will at least give some indication of the variety of word patterns actually in use in the modern language.

In addition to supplying names for many modern machines, instruments, and the like, and for describing persons in terms of their occupations, professions, or activities, the various participial forms are

Participles

also used to provide names for a number of other modern objects or concepts which do not fall into either of these groups. The active اسم الفاعل forms, for example, are used for such words as نادي club, جامعة university, لائحة rules or regulations, عامل factor (as in العوامل الجغرافية "geographical factors"), مساهم limited or joint-stock (company), and منشع

radio-active; while the passive اسم المفعول forms are seen in منحترق fossil(ized), محمية protectorate, مشروع project, plan, or draft, موسوعة encyclopedia, مفروشات furniture or furnishings, and مستعمرة colony.

The comparatively uncommon form أفعولة seems to have something of the sense of مفعول , as in أُرْحَوِّثُ ("what is talked about") and أَضْحَكُ ("what is laughed at or about"). In mod-

Other
Forms

ern Arabic there appears to be a tendency to use it to describe various types of literary works, as in أقصصة short story, أطروحة thesis (for instance أطروحات الدكتوراه "doctoral theses"), and ^{used to discuss some variety} ألعوبة comedy (as in اللعوبة الإلهية "Dante's Divine Comedy"). Other word forms current in modern Arabic include the following:

فَعَال	جواز	<u>permit</u> (جواز السفر <u>passport</u>)
	جناح	<u>wing</u> (of a building or of an air force)
فَعَال	وسام	<u>award</u> (وسام الاستحقاق <u>award of merit</u>)
	قطار	<u>railway train</u>
	خطاب	<u>letter</u>
فَعَال	نوع	<u>ray</u> (اشعة غاما <u>gamma rays</u>)
فَعَال	مطاط	<u>rubber</u>
	جبار	<u>tremendous</u>

	عيار	<u>crane or derrick</u> and also <u>caliber</u> (of a rifle)
فَعَالَة	ثقافة	<u>culture</u>
	بطالة	<u>unemployment</u>
	رقابة	<u>censorship</u>
فَعَلَ	دور	<u>role</u> or <u>part</u>
	سهم	<u>share</u> (of stock)
	صوت	<u>vote</u>
	فرع	<u>branch</u> (office)
	مصل	<u>vaccine</u>
فُعِلَ	صلب	<u>steel</u>
	عضو	<u>member</u>
فِعَلَ	سرب	<u>flight</u> or <u>group</u> (of aircraft)
فَعَلَ	وطن	<u>homeland</u>
	شلل	<u>paralysis</u> (شلل الأطفال infantile paralysis)
فَعَلَة	هيئة	<u>group, body, organization</u>
	دورة	<u>session</u> or <u>round</u>
	طاقة	<u>energy</u> or <u>power</u> (الطاقة الذرية atomic energy)
	شقة	<u>flat</u> or <u>apartment</u>
	شفرة	<u>razor blade</u>
	لجنة	<u>committee</u> or <u>commission</u>
فُعِلَة	عملة	<u>currency</u> (العملة الصعبة hard <u>currency</u>)

	عطلة	<u>unemployment</u>
	شرطة	<u>police</u>
فَعْلَة	بيئة	<u>environment</u>
	مهنة	<u>profession</u>
	فرقة	<u>division</u> (of an army)
فَعْلَة	عدسة	<u>lens</u>
فَعُول	وقود	<u>fuel</u>
	عمود	<u>column</u> (of print)
فَعُولَة	بطولة	<u>championship</u>
	حكومة	<u>government</u>
	عمولة	<u>commission</u> (in commerce)
فَعِيل	رصيد	<u>balance</u> (الارصدة الاسترلينية sterling balances)
	رصيف	<u>dock or pier</u>
	شريط	<u>film</u>
فَعِيلَة	جريدة	<u>newspaper</u>
	صحيفة	<u>newspaper</u> or (plural) the <u>press</u> collectively
	قذيفة	<u>missile</u> (قذيفة موجهة guided missile)

The diminutive forms فَعِيل , etc., seem to be little used in modern Arabic. Such modern diminutives as do exist are mostly scientific technical terms, and many of these fall into the category of words proposed

Diminutives

rather than of words actually in use. عوينات عيينات is occasionally found used for eyeglasses (though نظارات is more common) and جزي is used for molecule. The diminutive حبي was approved by the Academy of the Arabic Language for microbe and has had some use, but جرثومة is probably more common. The diminutive of the latter word is also used, as in علم الجريشيمات bacteriology. A number of other diminutives, some of them very ingenious, have been proposed by various writers, but none of these can be considered as being in general use. Examples include حريرة calorie, دخينة cigarette, عوالم microcosm, لومن lumen, عميلة erg, and لوينات nuances.

Parenthetical Explanations. Since modern Arabic is a growing and changing language it follows that a portion of its vocabulary is always new and unfamiliar to its readers. This portion consists of those words that are coming to be used with new meanings, are in the process of displacing foreign words, or for some other reason are on their way to becoming used and accepted in the language.

A fairly common practice when using such words is to accompany them with a word or phrase of definition - that is, to follow the "correct" but new or unfamiliar word with the foreign or colloquial word that it is in the process of

replacing. For instance, طائرة عمودية has been generally accepted as the proper equivalent for helicopter. On the part of many writers, however, there seems to be a feeling that it is not yet widely enough known, so that the word هيليكوبتر is frequently used along with it in such combinations as "هيليكوبتر" طائرة عمودية or طائرة هيليكوبتر العمودية. Similarly, a number of writers propose the revival of some form of حيل for the terms machine, mechanical, mechanics, etc. The word is no longer well known in this sense, however, so that when it is used it must be accompanied by the more familiar European term, as in علم آلات الحيل (الميكانيك) and الحيلية (الميكانيكية). The words كاتم and كنوم have been put forward as the proper Arabic equivalents for secretary, but neither one has yet come into widespread use, so that one finds combinations such as كنوم اللجنة (سكرتيرها).

Other examples of this use of parenthetical explanations of new or unfamiliar Arabic words include المشد او الكورسيه corset, الفونوغراف او الحاكي phonograph, المجاهر (المكروسكوبات) microscopes, الآلة المنضدة (اللينوتيب) Linotype, الكهارب او الالكترونات electrons, المصحة (كلينيك) clinic, and الخوينات (الكانتينات) canteens. Such explanatory asides must be only a temporary feature of modern writing, however, and it may be expected that words

like *كنوم* and *حاك* will eventually either drop out of use altogether or become so well established that such parenthetical explanations are no longer necessary.

COMPOUND WORDS

The use of these standardized patterns of word formation gives Arabic a certain richness and precision of vocabulary, but its usefulness in the creation of new words is nevertheless somewhat restricted by, among other things, the fact that only a limited number of such forms of patterns are available and that these cannot readily be combined with each other. In this respect Arabic lacks the comparatively greater flexibility and adaptability that the Indo-European languages have because of their ability to combine two or more words or affixes to form an almost infinite number of compound words.

The formation of compound words is not entirely unknown in Arabic, and the process is known to the grammarians as *نحت*. The creation of such words is comparatively rare, however, and while Father Louis Cheikho was able to compile a list of about 500 examples of compound words in Arabic⁵, scarcely a handful of these were ever in regular use in the

language. The remainder are either derivatives of proper names, like *عقبسي* > *عبد القيس* or *بومالكي* > *أبو مالك*, or are words that were used once or twice for particular purposes and have remained embalmed in the grammars and dictionaries.

Some writers, such as Mārūn Ghuṣṣn⁶ and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Kawākibī⁷, have argued in favor of making much greater use of *نحت* in the modern language. The consensus of learned opinion seems to oppose any such proposal, however, and to feel that while this device was available to "العرب" its use is not permissible in the present day.⁸

True Compounds. The ability to form compound words (كلمات منحوتة), then, seems to be no longer a living part of

5. Cheikho, *الالفاظ المنحوتة في العربية*, *al-Machriq* 1(1898): 1027-1031.
6. Ghuṣṣn, *النحت في اللغة العربية = وسيلة لتوسيع اللغة*, RAAD 13 (1933-35): 300-302, *النحت وسيلة لتوسيع اللغة*, RAAD 13 (1933-35): 458-465.
7. Al-Kawākibī, in his address delivered 25 February 1954 on his election as a member of the Arab Academy of Damascus, RAAD 29(1954): 299-307; corrigenda in RAAD 30(1955): 693.
8. For instance, strong opposition to Mārūn Ghuṣṣn's arguments was expressed by Salīm al-Jundī, *ما هكذا يا*, RAAD 13(1933-35): 359-362; by Krenkow, *النحت في اللغة العربية*, RAAD 13(1933-35): 429-430; and by Sa'īd al-Afghānī, *كلمة حيار*, RAAD 14(1936): 147-152.

the language, if indeed it ever was. Nevertheless a few such words do occur in modern Arabic, and a number of others have been proposed from time to time. By far the commonest of those in actual use is certainly the phrase رأس مال capital. This is not, of course, a new combination. It occurs in the Quran and is listed in the classical dictionaries, and forms its plural quite regularly as رؤوس أموال . Sometimes in modern Arabic, however, it is found written as a single word, رأسمال or رأسمال or رأسمال, and occasionally it forms a new broken plural رأسمال . From it, furthermore, are now formed an adjective رأسمالي capitalist(ic) and an abstract noun رأسمالية capitalism. رأس مال or رأسمال, in other words, appears to be in the process of changing from a simple construct phrase into a true compound.

Among the few other compound words in regular use in the language are ياناصيب lottery (not new) and قائمقام or قائمقام governor or lieutenant-colonel, which is usually considered as Turkish but which is perhaps connected with the مقام ج قباقة prince or lord found in pre-Islamic poetry. Another compound of a sort is to be found in the Arabic adaptations of the European prefix Anglo- (as in Anglo-Iranian, Anglo-American, etc.). This may be found written either as one word or as

two words, as in المعسكر الانجلو امريكي "the Anglo-American camp",
القوات الانجلو امريكية "the Anglo-American forces", الجبهة الانجلو امريكية
"the Anglo-American front", شركة البترول الانجلو امريكية "the Anglo-American
Oil Company", الاقتراح الانكلو امريكي "the Anglo-American proposal",
الصراع الانكلو فرنسي "the Anglo-Egyptian agreement", الاتفاقية الانكلو مصرية
"the Anglo-French dispute", and شركة النفط الانكلو ايرانية "the Anglo-
Iranian Oil Company". A similar construction is found with
the prefix Afro-, as in الهيئة الافروسيوية للتعاون الاقتصادي "the Afro-
Asian Economic Cooperation Organization", and presumably
Italo-, Hispano-, etc. might also occur.

Other modern compounds exist, but none can be called common. The following examples are all taken from published books, newspapers, or magazines: nasal (pro-nunciation) (أنف + فم) أنفي, amphibious (بر + ماء) برمائي, pre-historic (قبل + تاريخ) قبتاريخي, photoelectric (also كهزنوري) كهروضوئي, but none of these should be taken as representing general or common usage.

Among other compound words proposed by various writers but not in actual use in the language are such terms as quadruped (أربع + رجل) اربرجل, quadrumane (أربع + يد) اربيد, mammiferous (زوا + ثدي) كهركيميا, lactometer (ميزان + لبن) مزلاب, electrochemistry (كهركيميا + كيميا), hydrolysis (تحليل + ماء) حلمأة.

قروسطي (قرون + وسطى) medieval, and بلا + ما (بلا) to anhydrate.⁹

Of a somewhat different kind are the compounds formed by the addition of negative or other affixes. Words formed by prefixing the particle لا have existed in the language at least since the third century A.H., and this is the Affixes only prefix which is readily accepted and widely used in modern Arabic. Examples from the earlier literature include لا شيء nothing (with its derived verbs تلاشى and تلاشى), لا الهية the agnostics, لا وجود non-existence, لا الهية godlessness or ungodliness, and لا الهية a name of the Samaritans. By far the commonest word of this type in modern Arabic is لا سلكى radio (compare English wireless and French sans fil), and other examples from modern usage include لا شعورى unconsciousness, لا شيوعى non-communist, لا نظام disorder, لا محارب non-belligerent, لا مركزية decentralization, لا انتهائية infinity, and لا سامية anti-Semitism. It will be noted from

9. A correspondent of al-Ahrām some years ago amused himself at the expense of both the device of نحت and the Government of Egypt when he pointed out that the British claimed to be occupying Egypt to protect its independence. He proposed that this fortunate status should be described by the word احتلال (a compound of احتلال occupation and استقلال independence), the English equivalent of which would be occupendence. "Wahīd" [Wahīd al-Ayyūbī], al-Ahrām, 18 & 22 February 1936.

these examples that ل is used as a prefix not only for simple negation (as in الانشعور unconsciousness), but also sometimes for expressing opposition (as in الاسامية anti-Semitism) and reversal (as in اللامركزية decentralization).

Another class of compound word occasionally met with in the modern language consists of those formed by combining an Arabic word with a suffix taken from the European languages as, for instance, in نفسولوجية psychology and مصرولوجية Egyptology. Here psycho- and Egypto- have been translated into Arabic as نفس and مصر respectively and the European suffix -logy has merely been transliterated.

Words of this type are not widely used except in the formation of scientific technical terms, especially those dealing with chemistry. They constitute a convenient device for coining Arabic equivalents for some of the many hundred technical terms of modern chemistry. Examples include:

suffix <u>-ite</u> :	بلوط	>	بلوطيت	<u>quercite</u> or <u>oakite</u>
	حلو	>	حلويت	<u>dulcite</u>
	صنوبر	>	صنوبريت	<u>pinite</u>
<u>-yl</u> :	خمر	>	خميريل	<u>vinyl</u>
	نمل	>	نمليل	<u>formyl</u>

<u>-ate:</u>	بول	>	بولات	<u>urate</u>
	خلّ	>	خلات	<u>acetate</u>
	كبريت	>	كبريتات	<u>sulfate</u>
	فحم	>	فحمات	<u>carbonate</u>
	لبن	>	لبنات	<u>lactate</u>
	ليمون	>	ليمونات	<u>citrate</u>
<u>-ein or -ine:</u>	بنّ	>	بنّين	<u>caffeine</u>
	بول	>	بولين	<u>urine</u>
	جبين	>	جبنين	<u>casein</u>
	صوف	>	صوفين	<u>lanoline</u>
	قهوة	>	قهوين	<u>caffeine</u>
	لؤلؤ	>	لؤلؤين	<u>margarine</u>
	ليف	>	ليفين	<u>fibrine</u>
<u>-io:</u>	حديد	>	حديدك	<u>ferric</u>
	عفص	>	عفصيك	<u>tannic</u>
	كبريت	>	كبريتيك	<u>sulfuric</u>
	كهرباء	>	كهربائيك	<u>electric</u>
	لبن	>	لبنيك	<u>lactic</u>
	ليمون	>	ليمونيك	<u>citric</u>
	نمل	>	نمليك	<u>formic</u>
<u>-ide:</u>	بول	>	بوليد	<u>uride</u>
	فحم	>	فحميد	<u>carbonide</u>
	هضم	>	هضميد	<u>peptide</u>

-ose or -ous:	حديد	>	حديدوس	<u>ferrous</u>
	دبس	>	دبسوس	<u>glucose</u>
	سكر	>	سكروس	<u>sucrose</u>
	لبن	>	لبنوس	<u>lactose</u>
	كبريت	>	كبريتوس	<u>sulfurous</u> ¹⁰

This is a useful method for translating the simpler chemical terms into Arabic but it fails, of course, to provide equivalents for such terms as iodochlorhydroxyquinoline or 1-parachlorophenyl-1-(2 pyridyl)-3-dimethylaminopropane.

Combinations. Combinations with a negative sense are formed in modern Arabic with the words نزع , عدم , غير , etc., and examples include such phrases as indirect, غير مباشر unconstitutional, غير دستوري unofficial, غير رسمي un-constitutionality, عدم الدستورية non-aggression, عدم الاعتداء illegality, ضد الطائرات disarmament or demilitarization, نزع السلاح anti-aircraft, سوء التفاهم misunderstanding, and سوء الإدارة mal-administration. These, of course, are phrases or combinations rather than true compounds. They serve the same function as the negative prefixes of the European languages,

10. These and similar suffixes are discussed in the unsigned article (probably by Anastās al-Kirmilī), حروف الكسع في الالفاظ العربية والمعربات LA 4(1926-27): 33-43.

however, and they come close to being actual prefixes when the definite article is prefixed to the negative element as in السفير الغير رسمي "the unofficial ambassador".¹¹

11. For some early examples of this and similar usages see Fück, 'Arabiya (Paris, 1955), pp. 93-94.

Chapter IX

GRAMMAR, STYLE, AND FIGURES OF SPEECH

For a number of fairly obvious reasons the grammar of modern Arabic and the idiom or style of present-day Arabic writing are difficult to analyze and discuss as thoroughly or as precisely as the vocabulary of the modern language.

The subject is, first of all, a naturally somewhat amorphous one and the materials to study it have not been and perhaps cannot be collected and analyzed to the same extent as has been possible with Arabic vocabulary. The classical dictionaries, for all their omissions and inconsistencies, present a fairly accurate picture of the vocabulary of Arabic up to about the third century, and words not listed in them can at least be suspected of being later additions to the language. The manner of inflecting these words and the syntactical rules governing their use in connected speech are set forth at length in the works of the classical grammarians. Such rules cannot be listed as completely as individual words can be, however, and in any case the grammars are based almost exclusively on Bedouin sources. It is not always possible to decide, therefore, whether any particular present-day usage is a comparatively new one or was

in fact already in use in the first centuries of the Islamic era and either overlooked or perhaps deliberately ignored by the classical grammarians. The style of the classical language is illustrated and its metaphors and other figures of speech at least to some extent recorded in the many books on علم البلاغة and in works such as al-Tha'ālibī's Fih al-Lughah, but such books naturally cannot pretend to offer complete lists of all the idiomatic usages or figures of speech in the language.

It might be thought that the vast literature devoted to correcting errors in modern usage, which was discussed in Chapter II, would be of use in illustrating the main characteristics of modern grammar and idiom and pointing out the differences between modern Arabic and the classical language in these matters. Ernst Mainz, for instance, based his thesis on the grammar of modern Arabic largely on two or three works of this type.¹ For a number of reasons, however, this literature should be used with the greatest

-
1. Mainz, Zur Grammatik des modernen Schriftarabisch (Hamburg, 1931). The author admits (p.5) to having some doubts about the validity of taking such works as descriptive of modern Arabic grammar, but concludes that they at least demonstrate that modern writers no longer possess the instinctive ability (Sprachgefühl) to use correct classical grammar.

caution, if at all. There is, first of all, surprisingly little agreement among various writers on what is correct (i.e., فصيح) usage and what is corrupt modern usage; and the appearance of almost every work of this type has been followed by the publication of criticisms, counter-criticisms, corrections, and rebuttals, the chief effect of which is to leave the reader with the feeling that neither the original author nor any of his critics can be relied on.² Furthermore, the words and idioms criticized in such works cannot be assumed to be typical or characteristic of modern Arabic, and indeed one can find a number of these same "modern errors" being criticized by Ibn Qutaibah, Ibn Khālawaih, or al-Zubaidī a thousand years ago.³ Other examples of improper usage may be the result simply of carelessness or of

2. See, for instance, al-Muqataṭaf 74(1929): 327-332, 438-442, 577-582, in which 'Abd al-Rahīm Maḥmūd criticizes the errors in a recently published book, is in turn criticized by Muṣṭafā Jawād, and then "corrects" the latter's criticisms. See also the review of As'ad Dāghir's تذكرة الكاتب in RAAD 4(1924): 259-264, 307-314, where 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī commends it as one of the best books of its kind and then proceeds to give eight pages of "corrections" of Dāghir's "corrections". This is followed in RAAD 5(1925): 95-97, 526-528, by Dāghir's reply "correcting" al-Maghribī's "corrections" of Dāghir's original "corrections" of errors in modern usage.

3. On this point see especially al-Maghribī's article حول كتاب عشرات اللسان, RAAD 25(1950): 259-264.

bad writing. There have presumably been poor writers in every language and at every period, and their barbarisms and illiteracies should not be taken as reflecting the true character of the language or indicating any change or development in accepted usage.

The comparative lack of material for discussion of the grammar of modern Arabic is also in part a reflection of the fact that this grammar actually differs only slightly from that of the classical language. The vocabulary of modern Arabic, as has already been shown, differs quite considerably from that of earlier periods, and there are noticeable differences too in the idiomatic constructions, the figures of speech, and the general "style" of much modern writing. The basic characteristics of the language, however - the ways in which words are formed, inflected, and related to each other in sentences - remain almost unchanged.

GRAMMAR

Although the basic grammatical structure of the language and its rules for word formation, inflection, and syntax have remained virtually unchanged, modern Arabic nevertheless does exhibit a number of grammatical peculiarities

that distinguish it from the language described by the classical grammarians. Many of these cannot with certainty be classed either as entirely modern in origin or as belonging to that class of "errors" that have been current in the language for hundreds of years without ever being accepted as good usage. Without attempting to make this distinction or to present an exhaustive list, it is nevertheless possible to comment on a number of these peculiarities of modern written usage.

Morphology. The inflectional system of the Arabic verb remains intact in the modern language, although there is a tendency (certainly not modern) to confuse the verbs

Verbs

with final weak radicals, as in دعا for دعا, دعاة for دعاة, and the like⁴; and difficulties arise with the conjugation of these verbs, so that one finds constructions such as لا تمشي الى اليسار, for example. The energetic forms يفعلن and يفعلن, never common in the language, are to all intents obsolete in modern prose. In addition to what has already been said on pages 181-185 above about increased forms

4. The existence of books such as Ibn Wallād's كتاب المقصور والمدود and similar works indicates that distinguishing between such verbs has been a problem since the beginning of written Arabic.

of the verb there may be noted here the tendency of some verbs to shift their meanings from one form to another, so that صادق على comes to be used for كشف to discover, صديق for مصدق to approve or sanction, استلم instead of تسلم to receive, تواقر for أخبر or خبر to communicate with, توافر for أسهم to share or participate with. Somewhat similar to this is the occasional transference of participial forms in pairs such as أنتج to produce and منتجات products.⁵ Confusion in handling the prepositions by which verbs govern their objects is also prevalent and will be discussed further below in connection with idiom.

The forms of nouns and adjectives in modern Arabic have already been discussed to some extent in Chapter VIII. In addition to what was said there about the modern tendency

Nouns and Adjectives to form apparently unnecessary nouns in ية like اتفاقية from اتفاق and عملية from عمل, it may be pointed out here that the classical limitations on the formation of relative adjectives are often disregarded in the present-day language. Thus in modern usage the النسبة is

5. Flück, 'Arabiya, pp. 136, 172 gives a number of similar examples from the early literature. See also Lane on the use of مركوم as participle of أركم.

frequently found added not only to the singular forms of simple substantives and adjectives, but also to plurals (as in ملكي royal(ist), صحفي journalist(ic), and امة international)⁶, to verbal nouns (as in تدريجي gradual, اداري administrative, تقدمي progressive, انفعالي emotional, and انتخابي electoral), to participles (as in مجتمعي communal), to nouns of place (as in محلي local, مركزي central, and مسرحي theatrical), and to numerals (as in اولي primary and ثانوي secondary). In some cases too the relative adjective seems to be used where one might have expected an active participle, as in احتكاري (instead of محتكر) monopolist and اختصاصي (instead of مختص) specialist.

The whole apparatus of sound and broken plurals remains almost unchanged in modern Arabic. Occasional examples of improper plurals are met with, such as محلات instead of محال from محل place and مدراء instead of مديرون directors,

6. The Academy of the Arabic Language approved the formation of relative adjectives from broken plurals when necessary, for example, to distinguish between related meanings such as ملكي royal and ملكي royalist or monarchist and دولي of the state and دولي international. See RALA 2(1935): 35 and Maḥḍar 2(1935): 199, and for a fuller discussion of this point and a summary of the opinions of the classical grammarians see the remarks by Muḥammad al-Khidr Ḥusain in RALA 2(1935): 45-50.

but these are too infrequent to be taken as indicating any change in the basic patterns of the language. A relatively minor change can be seen in the fact that the distinction between the جمع القلة and the other forms of the broken plural is seldom observed in modern Arabic, and constructions such as أربعة من آلاف استقبلوا الحياة في السنة three months, ثلاثة شهر الجديدة "four out of thousands who were born in the new year", or آلاف البراميل "thousands of barrels" (referring to some indefinite number in the hundreds of thousands) are fairly common.

The inflectional system of classical Arabic must, of course, have been affected by the normal laws of linguistic change from the earliest times and perhaps never existed in the state of perfection described by the grammarians. At any rate it seems certain that by the time the Muslim forces had moved out of the confines of the Arabian Peninsula and begun to settle in the surrounding lands many of the inflectional endings of the noun and verb had already dropped out of use in the spoken language and were obsolescent in writing. The decay of the inflectional endings is concealed to some extent by the fact that many of these endings are not shown in unvowelled written Arabic. Enough indications

remain, however, to reveal that this process has continued until the present day and to allow one to hazard the statement that while all modern writers have of course studied and learned these endings many of them are unable spontaneously and instinctively to use them correctly. Only the most learned speakers on the most formal occasions make any pretence of using full اعراب in their speech, and in fact the inflections have tended to become an artificial device even in formal writing.

In unvowelled writing the use of the inflectional endings is visible only in the indefinite accusative, in the masculine sound plural, and in words from a root with a weak third radical. Even with the possibility of obvious error thus restricted, however, one finds mistakes in modern usage. In the inflection of words with weak final radical, for example, errors such as الوصول الى حل مرضي لهذه المسألة "reaching a satisfactory solution of this question", هو سكرتير ثاني بسفارة ايران "he is a Second Secretary in the Iranian Embassy", and "the preference ان حق الافضلية الممنوح للشركة هو اعطاؤها الحق في ... right granted to the company consists of giving it the right to ..." are not uncommon.

A special case of the difficulty with weak final

letters arises with proper names containing أبو-أبي and زو-ذو which, except with the most pedantic writers, tend to be reduced to the single forms أبو and زو respectively, as for example in السيد حسين زو الفقار ... Yesterday morning the two Lebanese leaders visited Sayyid Ḥusain Dhu 'l-Faqār Ṣabrī, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs."⁷ In tribal names بنو-بني usually becomes invariable as بني, and in fact all proper names tend to become indeclinable in modern Arabic. Thus constructions such as "Radio Damascus أزاع راديو دمشق اليوم أن عبد الرحمن عزام باشا ...", broadcast today that 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Azzām Pasha ...", "I have met the Prime Minister of Egypt, Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir", or ان جمال عبد الناصر يمثل "Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir represents a new nationalistic current" now seem to be the common usage rather than the exception.

Another problem of inflection arises with the feminine of the elative أفعل form. Here فعلى is assumed to be

7. That this particular tendency is not a new one is shown by the apocryphal story cited by Fück (pp. 66-67) on the authority of Jāḥiẓ and al-Balādhurī that the Caliph 'Umar advised Abū Mūsà al-Ash'arī to beat his secretary for having written the phrase من أبو موسى in a letter.

the feminine of *أفعل* as well as of *الأفعل* , and constructions such as *تكوين لجنة عليا للإشراف على ...* "the formation of a higher committee to supervise ..." occur.

Syntax. In the use of the inflectional endings and of one or two other word forms (as distinct from the manner of forming and writing them) modern Arabic also exhibits a number of peculiarities.

The use of the accusative for the object of the verb appears still to come naturally to most writers, except perhaps when the object is separated from the verb as, for instance in *حكيمين اثنين يختار كل فريق واحد منهما* "two arbitrators, one of whom shall be chosen by each party". The use of *كان* and *إن* and their sisters, however, introduces complications that many writers can apparently handle correctly only by a deliberate effort; so that one may find sentences such as *هذه الاتفاقية تعتبر كأنها جزءا من ...* "this agreement shall be considered as if it were a part of ..." and *يمكن ان يصير جزء منها* "it may become a part of them". The use of *أما* appears sometimes to be influenced by the example of *إن* and *أن* , so that constructions such as *أما العرب المسلمون فلهم ...* "As for the Muslim Arabs, they have ..." are to be found.

The numerals are particularly liable to be misconstrued, because of the complexity of the rules that govern their use. Errors occur both in gender (as in ثلاثة نسخ "three copies" and خمسة عشر طائرة "fifteen airplanes") and in case (as in شيك قيمته سبعين ليرة "a cheque in the value of seventy pounds"). The use of the oblique form of the numerals indicating tens is probably a result of the influence of the colloquial forms. In Syria, on the other hand, the accepted practice is to use the nominative forms invariably, as in مبلغ خمسون ليرة "the sum of fifty pounds".

The use of the so-called improper construct is very frequently met with in modern Arabic in phrases such as مدير عام مصلحة الطيران المدني "the Director General of the Department of Civil Aviation" or جنود وضباط الجيش المصري "the officers and men of the Egyptian Army". This is not a new usage in the language⁸, but it is so common in modern Arabic that to many readers a correct rephrasing such as مدير مصلحة الطيران العام or المدير العام لمصلحة الطيران المدني would probably seem somewhat affected and unnatural.

Idiom. Some usages of modern Arabic seem to fall on

8. Some early examples are quoted in Wright, II, 201.

the borderline between grammar and style. That is, they are concerned not so much with the forms of words or the syntactical relationships between them as with certain mannerisms of language such as the choice of words and the way in which they are used in phrases and sentences.

Among such idiomatic peculiarities involving the use of verbs, for example, is the modern tendency (probably a result of European influence) to construct passive sentences where classical Arabic would have used the active.

Verbal
Idioms

Passive sentences are found even where the agent is clearly expressed after من قبل or بمعرفة or some similar phrase, as in وضع التقرير بمعرفة وزير المالية "the report was composed by the Minister of Finance" or التقرير المرفوع الى وزير الصحة من قبل مدير المستودعات الطبية "the report submitted to the Minister of Health by the Director of Medical Stores". Another probable effect of European influence on the language is to be seen in the use of imperfect verbs in sentences that clearly refer to past time. This usage is restricted almost entirely to newspaper headlines, where it occurs in sentences such as الرئيس عبد الناصر والامير فيصل يوقعانه في حفل رسمي أمس "President 'Abd al-Nāṣir and Amir Faiṣal sign it yesterday in an official ceremony", مجلس الوزراء "the Cabinet studies the electoral law يبحث قانون الانتخابات أمس

yesterday", or ... ان "Black
announces before leaving London for Cairo yesterday that ..."

Another characteristic of the use of verbs in modern Arabic is the occurrence of the fault known as تضمين . Strictly speaking تضمين refers to the alteration of the way in which a verb governs its object, by analogy with or by the influence of another verb of similar meaning, as in the Quranic واذا خلوا الى شياطينهم قالوا انا معكم where خلا has become خلا الى , presumably by unconscious analogy with some such verb as افضى الى or أنهى الى . For the purpose of this discussion, however, the term may be taken to include any case in which the way a verb or verbal expression governs its object is altered.⁹

Three types of تضمين may be found in modern Arabic. One of these involves the use with a preposition of a verb which properly should take a direct object in the accusative, as in ... حاز على شهادة "he obtained the ... certificate" instead of ... حاز شهادة (perhaps by analogy with حصل على), الاعانة , or محادثته "conversation with him" instead of المحادثة معه

9. For a technical discussion of تضمين , supported by many references to the classical grammarians, see Mahdar 1(1934): 209-225, 237-239, 264-268.

the assistance that was granted to him" instead of الاعانة التي مُنحت له . The use of صادق على , cited above, is perhaps due to analogy with وافق على .

The second type is the reverse of this and involves the omission of the preposition, as in مندوبو الحكومة المفوضون على الاصول "duly authorized representatives of the Government" instead of مندوبو الحكومة المفوض اليهم على الاصول , to obtain but حصل على , products or "what is obtained", and undesirable instead of غير مرغوب فيه .

The third and most numerous type consists of verbs governing their objects through prepositions other than those listed in the classical lexicons. Examples from modern use include رفعوا له المال "they paid him the money" instead of رفعوا اليه المال , وزع الشهادات على الخريجين , وزعها بينهم or وزعها في الخريجين instead of وزعها بينهم , تكلّم فيه "to speak about the subject" instead of تكلّم عن الموضوع or فتش على الشيء "to look for the thing" instead of فتش عنه , كان له تأثير على الامر "it had an influence on the matter" instead of كان له تأثير فيه ¹⁰ , and استطاع من الشيء "to be able to do the thing" instead of استطاع الشيء as in لما استطاعوا هم (where استطاع seems to have been influenced by تمكن من) .

Somewhat similar to these examples of تضمين are the cases of confusion in the handling of double objects after verbs, as a result of which the correct ردّ على الاستاذ فلان مقالته "He replied to Professor So-and-so's article" is more usually found in the form استبدل الجريدة بالمجلة and ردّ على مقالة الاستاذ فلان "he replaced the magazine with the newspaper" is commonly taken to mean just the opposite. The example of الاعانة التي cited above illustrates a similar type of error in the use of double objects.

The greatly increased use of the يا النسبة and of the abstract and other nouns formed from it has already been referred to. The relative adjectives are also very commonly

Nouns and Adjectives used in modern writing where writers of an earlier period would have used the اضافة بيانية or similar construction, so that one finds سكة حديدية instead of سكة حديد or railroad, قميص قطن instead of قميص قطن cotton shirt, آبار نفط instead of آبار نفط oil wells, امتياز زهني instead of امتياز زيت oil concession, and جنيه ذهبي instead of جنيه ذهب sovereign. Strictly speaking this is not a proper use of

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10. Generally taken to be a modern error influenced by English influence on and French influer sur and so criticized by al-Maghribī and Wehr, among others, but Muṣṭafā Jawād in RAAD 24(1949): 400-401 cites examples from the fourth century onward.

the *نسبة* form since *جنيه ذهبي*, for example, means not "a gold pound" but "a pound resembling gold" or "a pound made partly of gold".

Another idiomatic peculiarity of modern Arabic is the frequent use as adverbs of relative adjectives in the indefinite accusative. This construction has probably arisen in imitation of the adverbial forms of the European languages and is used in sentences such as *كان قد اتصل امس تليفونيا ب...* "Yesterday he had gotten in touch 'telephonically' with ...", *"I am basically opposed to putting this plan into effect"*, *أنا معترض مبدئيا على تنفيذ هذا المشروع* "He used to know personally some of the members of the diplomatic corps", and *هي بلاد متأخرة نسبيا* "It is a relatively backward country".

In many or most cases this construction could have been avoided by the use of an accusative of *تمييز*, a prepositional phrase, or some other more truly Arabic idiom. A sentence such as *البدوى افضل مثل للارومة السامية اجتماعيا ولغويا* "The Bedouin is the best representative of the Semitic stock, socially and linguistically", for example, could have been written *اتصلت به بالتليفون* . البدوى افضل مثل ... اجتماعا ولغة "I got in touch with him by telephone" could be used instead

ازدهرت البلاد صناعياً وتجارياً , اتصلت به تليفونياً of
"The country flourished industrially, commercially, and
agriculturally" would be improved by rephrasing it as ازدهرت
. صناعة البلاد وتجاريتها وزراعتها

A number of modern idiomatic constructions involve
the use of prepositions, conjunctions, and other particles,
and some of these seem to show the effects of Eu-
Particles ropean influence on the language. Among appar-
ently modern uses of particles, for example, is the use of
ضد against with the meaning "in opposition to" instead of
"contrary to" or "opposite to" as in "الدعوى المرفوعة ضد فلان" the
claim made against so-and-so", "المدفعية ضد الطائرات", "anti-aircraft
artillery", or "الدفاع عن الشرق الاوسط ضد كل عدوان" the defense of
the Middle East against every aggression".

The preposition تحت is found used in such phrases
as "he published his collection under ... as ... نشر مجموعته تحت عنوان ...",
"the subject is under study", "الموضوع تحت الدراسة", "a book under printing" (i.e., being
printed), "كتاب تحت الطبع", "distillation under pressure", "التقطير تحت الضغط", and
"under international observation". تحت الرقابة الدولية

Combinations with ك , presumably in imitation of

English as or French comme, are found in sentences where the classical Arabic would use an accusative, such as تدفع لهم المبلغ "it will pay this amount to them as full satisfaction of their claims", or قد انتدب الى وزارة الزراعة "he has been assigned to the Ministry of Agriculture as a technical expert".

Other idiomatic constructions with the particles include the use of إذا and إن instead of هل in indirect questions (as in لا اعرف اذا كان هو المسئول "I don't know whether he is the one responsible"), the use of سوف لا instead of لن to indicate a future negative, the use of كذلك to mean also (as in استقبل الرئيس السفير الروسي ... وكذلك استقبل اعضاء البعثة الزراعية الهندية "The President received the Russian ambassador ... and he also received the members of the Indian agricultural mission"), and the use of هناك and ليس هناك to mean "there is and "there is not" (as in لن يكون هناك متعطل عن العمل بين الناقبين "there will be no one without work among those recovering from ... " or عرف اليوم أن هناك أربعة متهمين آخرين "today it was learned that there are four other persons accused").

Another usage perhaps influenced by the example of the European languages is the use of أى instead of كل (as in ... سترحب الحكومة بأى حركة تهدف الى "the Government will welcome

any movement that aims at ...) or in negative sentences (such as لم يطلب أى شيء منه "he did not ask him for anything" or لم تكن له أية فرصة للقيام ب... "he did not have any opportunity to undertake ..."). The use of ليس ... فقط بل ... أيضا as an equivalent of the English "not only ... but also ..." may also be noted.

FIGURES OF SPEECH

In addition to the metaphorical combinations of words such as موجة الاجرام crime wave and الارصة المجدة frozen balances which were cited in Chapter VII, modern Arabic also makes use of a fairly large number of other figures of speech which appear to be modern and many of which are probably of foreign origin.

Although such figures of speech are more numerous and more obvious than some of the idiomatic constructions discussed above, they nevertheless present some of the same problems of identification. As with vocabulary and points of grammar, there is the question of trying to decide what is definitely modern and what is not. More difficult is the problem of determining which are native Arabic figures of speech and which are of foreign origin.

One difficulty in deciding whether a particular figure is of foreign origin or not arises from the fact that the human imagination seems to operate in very much the same way in all cultures and similar figures of speech may therefore occur quite independently in more than one language. For example, the Arabic *نحذ المعدة* is exactly paralleled by the English "to whet one's appetite" and in both languages one may literally sharpen his knife or figuratively sharpen his appetite. Similarly, *قبضة الليث*^{أرنب} is basically the same figure as "the lion's share", *أعزني سمعك* parallels Shakespeare's "lend me your ears", both Arabic and English use "grinding one's teeth" (*حرق أسنانه*) to indicate rage, and in referring to the early years of the Islamic era *فجر الاسلام* "the dawn of Islam" is a metaphor that might occur in any language.

The problem of determining the origins of such expressions is made more difficult by the fact that a number of European figures of speech, especially those taken from the Bible, are derived from Semitic sources which also contributed to the body of Arabic metaphor. Thus the occurrence of sentences such as *وضعوا حجر عثرة في طريق ...* "They put a stumbling block in the way of ..." or *كانت هذه الجماعة حجر الزاوية* "This group was the cornerstone in the building of the Islamic state" *في بناء دولة الاسلام*

building of the Islamic State" perhaps indicates not that Arabic had borrowed these figures from one of the modern European languages but merely that both Arabic and the European languages have inherited them from the same source.

Apart from expressions that have sprung up independently both in Arabic and in one or more of the European languages or that were taken long ago from some common source, modern Arabic uses a considerable number of other figures of speech which seem definitely to have been taken from the western European languages and are presumably modern.

The conservative point of view on the use of new figures of speech is that it is not permissible to use a word metaphorically unless it was so used by "العرب". A مؤلف figure of speech therefore has exactly the same status as a مؤلف word. In likening a brave man to a lion, for instance, it is permissible to call him أسد but not to call him غضنفر, since the former simile occurs in كلام العرب but the latter does not.¹¹

11. For a discussion of various points of view towards the propriety of new figures of speech see Muḥammad al-Khidr Ḥusain, المجاز والنقل وأثرهما في حياة اللغة العربية, RALA 1(1934): 291-302, where the example used here is cited.

This extreme position is not that of the majority of modern writers, however; and on the question of accepting new or borrowed figures of speech into the language the consensus of learned opinion is in fact comparatively liberal. In the poll on modern vocabulary and usage conducted in 1928 by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī¹², for example, one of the categories put forward consisted on phrases and figures of speech of foreign origin. Of the eighteen writers who replied to al-Maghribī's questions, twelve approved the use of foreign figures of speech, one would accept them subject to certain conditions, two expressed no opinion, and only three expressed themselves as opposed to using such figures in Arabic. The Academy of the Arabic Language approved the use of foreign words and figures of speech "when necessary", but al-Maghribī himself denied that necessity played any part in the matter and argued in favor of accepting any foreign idiom provided it was neither meaningless nor ridiculous nor offensive when translated into Arabic and provided that the words used and the grammatical structure of the figure were good Arabic.¹³

12. See pp. 38-39 above.

13. Al-Maghribī, تعريب الاساليب , RALA 1(1934): 332-349.

According to al-Maghribī, therefore, expressions such as "I'm all in", "keep your eye peeled", or "I've got a bone to pick with you" would presumably not be acceptable in Arabic, since أنا كل في would be meaningless, فلنكن عينك مقشرة would be ridiculous, and عندى عظم اريد ان انحضه واياك would be offensive. A wide variety of others would be acceptable, however, and al-Maghribī cites such expression as يلعب بالنار "he is playing with fire", يكسب خبزه بفرق جبينه "he earns his bread by the sweat of his brow", and يصطاد في الماء العكر "he is fishing in troubled waters" as examples of figures of speech which are purely foreign in origin but the use of which in Arabic would be quite unobjectionable.¹⁴

In fact general literary practice has tended to follow the more liberal of the points of view stated above, and a considerable number of apparently new and foreign idioms have come into use and been generally accepted in modern Arabic. For example, على ضوء is used as an equivalent of the English "in the light of" and occurs in phrases such as على ضوء التطورات الجديدة "in the light of the new developments" or على ضوء تخفيض الجنيه "in the light of the devaluation of the pound".

14. Ibid., pp. 342-344.

The verb أخذ to take provides a number of current figures of speech illustrated by phrases and sentences such as أخذ قرارات "the law will take its course", القانون سيأخذ مجراه "to make decisions" (French "prendre des résolutions"), صورة اخذت بعد ظهر أمس "a picture taken yesterday afternoon", and اتخذ الاجراءات اللازمة "to take the necessary measures".

The words حقل and ميدان field are used figuratively in expressions such as في حقل التربية "in the field of education", في كل ميدان من ميادين الحياة "in every field of life", في ميدان العلم "in the field of science", and التقدم العظيم الذي تم في ميدان الصناعة "the great progress achieved in the field of industry".

From لعب to play comes the very common expression لعب دوراً "to play a role" (مثل دوراً also occurs), which is used not only of actual theatrical roles (الادوار التمثيلية) but also figuratively as in الدور الذي لعبه الانكليز في مأساة حيفا "the role played by the British in the tragedy of Haifa" or ان مسألة الاستعمارية ستلعب دورا مهما "the question of imperialism will play an important role". The theatrical metaphor is carried further in such expressions as على مسرح الحياة "on the stage of life", القدس مسرح قتال عنيف "Jerusalem is the scene of severe fighting", and لعب على مسرح الجزيرة دورا سياسيا كبيرا "He played an

important political role on the stage of the Arabian Peninsula".

Other examples include رجل الشارع "the man in the street", "it is a life or death matter" انها مسألة حياة او موت , "we must first put our own house in order", يجب ان ننظم بيتنا اولاً , "necessity is the mother of invention", الحاجة ام الاختراع , "he attaches special importance to the situation in Aqaba" يعلق اهمية خاصة على الموقف في العقبة .

It is obviously impossible to present an exhaustive list of such figures of speech, but the following examples will serve as further illustrations of them: مهد العمران "the cradle of civilization", الورقة الراححة في يد الغرب "the winning card is in the hand of the West", هذه الصفحة الجديدة في تاريخ امتنا "this new page in the history of our nation", الاثر العميق الذي "the deep impression he left on me", العمارة مقياس "construction is the measure of the country's progress", المسألة ستثار في جلسة سرية "the question will be raised in a secret session", المسمار الاخير في نعر الماريا "the last nail in the coffin of malaria", ان اللغة الانجليزية ستكون على قدم المساواة مع "that English shall be on a footing of equality with Arabic", مشروع ... وضع على الرف "the ... plan has been shelved", قد وقع في حب امرأة اميركية حسنة "he has fallen in love

with a beautiful American woman", and ان ستالين حين يتحدث عن السلام "when Stalin talks about peace he means what he says".

STYLE

Quite apart from its use of such figures of speech, modern Arabic appears to be developing a distinctive style of literary composition. This is not to say that all modern writing follows a single standardized style. There are stylistic differences among individual writers, of course, various literary schools exist, and the style of composition naturally varies according to subject matter. Nevertheless a number of general stylistic trends and characteristics can be discerned.

Greatly simplifying the literary history of the Arabs, it may be said that the development of Arabic prose up to the nineteenth century passed through two stages. The prose of the first period, which corresponded roughly to the first three centuries after the establishment of Islam, made some use of imagery and stylistic embellishment but was in the main characterized by simplicity, directness, and clarity, and by a brevity that at times seems extreme.

The second period can be taken as having ended at about the time of the fall of Baghdad in 1258, though it continued to show occasional flickers of brilliance during the next six centuries. The prose writing of this period was, if individual exceptions are ignored, very unlike that of the first period. Partly as a result of the influence of foreign literatures (notably Persian) and partly as a reflection of the increasing complexity, refinement, and luxury of court life, it became extremely ornate and involved. At the hands of some writers it showed a tendency towards use of words for their own sake and what may somewhat anachronistically be called "art for art's sake".

Modern writing has been influenced by the prose of both these periods and by that of the European languages, and the literary movements and trends of the past century are basically a reflection of the conflict between these three opposing influences.

The renaissance of Arabic literature in the nineteenth century was founded initially on a revival of interest in the classics of Arabic literature and an imitation of earlier models. As the movement progressed from re-editing of earlier texts to translation and eventually to

independent composition, it was largely the works of the second of the periods described above that were taken as models. Much of the prose of the late nineteenth century is a poor imitation of the writing of that period and exhibits many of its characteristics. These include a fondness for stylistic ornamentation and involved phrasing, a wide use of quotations from the Quran, poetry, or well known stories and proverbs, and a large amount of deliberate repetitiveness.¹⁵ This is not the repetitiveness of, for instance Ṭāhā Ḥusain (a rhythmical iteration of a key word or phrase or sentence pattern), but a repetition through the use of synonyms. There is a tendency to use the obscure word rather than the common one and to try to follow almost every word with a synonym, not for the sake of clarity or precision but for the sake of rhyme, meter, and the hypnotic effect of sheer repetition.

Since about the turn of the century there has been something of a reaction against this style and a revolt

15. The literary style of the late nineteenth century was described by Marie Ziyādah as being characterized by "excessive wordiness, verbosity, stylistic posturing, flowery hyperbole, and ambiguity (كثير من الحشو واللغو والتلظ والغلو البديعي والابهام)". See "Mayy", الفن والادب في حضارة مصر اليوم, al-Muqtataf 83 (1933): 8-14, 164-169.

against the needless obscurities of a school of writing that has sometimes been accused of giving greater weight to style than to content. This reaction has by no means had the unanimous support of twentieth century writers, but it has included an influential portion and perhaps a majority of them among its supporters.¹⁶

The aim of this new school is the development of a style based partly on modern European models and partly on a return to the clarity and directness of Arabic prose of the first three centuries of the Islamic era. It advocates and tries to practice a manner of writing in which naturalness replaces pretentiousness and brevity replaces verbosity and repetitiveness. It does not reject all stylistic embellishment, but advocates making the style appropriate to the subject at hand and ridicules the pretentiousness of those who would try to write modern essays in the style of a tenth century maqāmah. The movement reaches its extreme in the writings of such men as Salāmah Mūsā, who urged that

16. For an argumentative discussion of the views of the "old" and "new" schools see the series of articles on prose style by Shakīb Arslān and Khalīl al-Sakākīnī reprinted in the latter's مطالعات في اللغة والأدب (Jerusalem, 1925), and see also "Mayy", op.cit.

(except in what are purely "belles lettres") all emotional content should be removed from modern writing in order to achieve the greatest possible clarity and precision of meaning. As one means of attaining this end he even proposed the creation of a "Basic Arabic" similar to Ogden's Basic English.¹⁷

The issue has yet to be settled between the advocates of the tradition and modern schools of literary style, but in the meantime a distinctively modern style appears to be emerging. Modern prose tends on the whole to be characterized by greater brevity and directness than that of the nineteenth century or earlier periods, although it does not approach the almost telescopic curtness of some Arabic prose of the earliest period.

This should not, however, be taken as implying that typically modern writing is altogether free of obscurity and empty verbosity.¹⁸ Modern Arabic has been no more fortunate

17. Salāmah Mūsā's ideas on a number of literary and other topics may be found in the collection of his essays published under the title *اليوم والغد* (Cairo, 1927); and his views on language and style are set forth in detail in his *البلاغة العصرية واللغة العربية* (Cairo, 1945). For a retort to critics of his style see Ahmad Zakī Abū Shādī, *اسلوب سلامة موسى*, LA 7(1929): 172-173.

than other languages in escaping the growth of "government-alese" and the jargon of businessmen, educationists, and others;¹⁹ and some of what is written and published in the present age would surely outrage the sensibilities of a good stylist of any period or any school.

18. For a psychologist's views on the vagueness and lack of precision of much Arabic writing see E. Shouby, "The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs", MEJ 5(1951): 284-302.

19. For some examples see Muḥammad 'Īsà, لغة الدواوين , al-Ahrām, 17 August 1939, 15 November 1939, and 27 December 1939, and Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, الألفاظ المكررة , RAAD 28(1953): 322-324.

Chapter X

ORTHOGRAPHY AND TYPOGRAPHY

Although none of the proposals for alphabet reform which have been put forward from time to time have come into general use, modern Arabic publications nevertheless differ considerably in appearance (as well as in vocabulary, grammar, and style) from the manuscripts of the medieval period and even from the first printed books of the nineteenth century. The differences consist of some minor points of spelling and of very considerable changes in the use of punctuation, paragraphs, and typographical "form" or "style".

Spelling. Some mention has already been made of the tendency towards confusion in spelling words with a final weak radical and to the fact that this has apparently always been a problem in the language. To the examples cited on page 215 above may be added مشتريات for مشتريات purchases from مشتري . Here the use of , in the plural is perhaps a result of unconscious analogy with its use in the relative adjective, as in قرية > قريوى and دنيا > دنياوى , though it more probably arises simply from confusion over what the final letter of the root is.

The rules for forming the relative adjective allow

a considerable degree of flexibility, and a number of examples of uncertainty in forming these words may be found in modern usage. Thus, from فرنسا France one finds فرنسي , فرنسوي , and فرنساوي , of which the first is now tending to replace the others in good writing. From أمريكا America, on the other hand, are formed أمريكي (now almost entirely restricted to the colloquial language, apparently because it is felt to be an improper or incorrect form) and أمريكي , but not أمريكوي or أمريكاوي . التربية education forms not only تربوي (rare) and تربوي but even تربوي , and from ثورة revolution comes ثوري as well as the anomalous ثوري (probably by analogy with anarchistic, or perhaps deliberately preferred in order to indicate that it is from ثورة and not from ثور bull).

There is also considerable uncertainty in modern usage over the distinction between final ا and ة . Thus إفريقيا Africa is written also as افريقيا , سورية Syria very often appears as سوريا , and both تركيا and تركية are used for Turkey. Similarly, the names of sciences such as جغرافيا (جغرافية) and جيولوجيا (جيولوجية) are found spelled with either ا or ة .¹

1. On the spelling of such words see Anastās al-Kirmillī, كتابة آخر الألفاظ المؤنثة , RAAD 19(1944): 89-93, and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, كيف تكتب (سورية) , RAAD 28(1953): 329-330.

Not surprisingly, a certain amount of confusion also occurs in connection with the use of the hamzah, which may be found written on the wrong bearer, omitted altogether, or even introduced into a word that should not have it. Thus, معبأ loaded may be correctly written, but in the feminine it may be found as معبئة . كهربأ electricity has acquired a final hamzah which many critics say it should not have. The plural of مينأ port or harbor tends to acquire a final hamzah and to appear as موانئ , and موقت temporary is very commonly written مؤقت . Place names of the فعلا form either lose their final hamzah altogether, as in صيدأ (صيدا) Sidon, صنعا (صنعأ) San'ā', and تيمأ (تيمأ) Taima, or sometimes are written with ة , as in رفحة (رفحأ) Rafha, a town in Saudi Arabia. There is also some uncertainty in the choice of bearer for hamzah in words such as شئون affairs and مسئول responsible. The spellings shown are generally followed in Egypt, while the other Arab countries tend to use the forms شؤون , مسؤول , etc., instead.

Another peculiarity of modern Egyptian usage is the omission of the two dots from final ي so that, for example, there is no distinction made between علي and على and both are written على .

Apart from criticizing specific "errors" of spelling such as كهربا for كهرباء , سوريا for سورية , and مؤقت for موقت , the language reformers have devoted comparatively little attention to the question of spelling. A number of the schemes for revision of the alphabet that were discussed in Chapter III include proposals such as converting the hamzah into a full-fledged letter to be used without bearer and writing double consonants twice (for example, فعمل instead of فعل). Rādī Dakhīl in 1929 proposed a drastic simplification of the rules for writing the hamzah² and in 1934 Shaikh Ahmad al-Iskandarī published a scheme for simplification of spelling.³ Al-Iskandarī's proposals, however, did not involve any change in Arabic spelling but rather were designed as rules for the guidance of editors in achieving uniformity of spelling in new editions of older works.

Punctuation and Abbreviations. It is apparent from the older manuscripts still in existence that abbreviations have been used in Arabic writing from very early times. A number of these early abbreviations, such as اه to mark the

2. Dakhīl, كتابة العمة , RAAD 9(1929): 764-765.

3. Al-Iskandarī, تيسير الهجا العربي , RALA 1(1934): 369-380.

end of a quotation and some of the abbreviations used in manuscripts of the Quran, performed much the same functions as punctuation marks. In addition, true punctuation marks such as ' and © occur in manuscripts and occasionally in printed books.⁴

Much of this older scheme of abbreviations and punctuation has now fallen into disuse and its place has been taken by a system of punctuation based on that of the European languages and including the comma, semicolon, question mark, and so forth. These are used approximately as they are in the European languages, although there are a number of variations in usage and some of the signs are used much more frequently than in the European languages. Thus sentences may be found ending with not just one but with two or three question marks or exclamation points, and the comma tends to be greatly overused (for example, between a noun and its adjective or between the subject of a sentence and its predicate).⁵ The quotation marks are less used than

4. The older systems of abbreviation and punctuation are discussed by Tāhir al-Jazā'irī in الخط العربي , RAAD 12(1932): 180-188. See also Franz Rosenthal, The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship (Rome, 1947), pp. 16-18, 35-37.

they are in English, and modern Arabic tends to follow the continental rather than the English system of indicating direct quotations. The double parentheses (()) are very commonly used to set off proper names, technical terms, sub-headings, and so forth, where the European languages would use capital letters or italic or boldface types.

Typographical Style. The design and layout of modern Arabic printing have been strongly influenced by European examples, and modern books and other printed matter differ markedly in appearance from manuscript works and from nineteenth century publications.

Printing in Arabic is relatively old. The Imprimerie Nationale of France has several Arabic types engraved before 1600, and a number of others of about the same age are in the Vatican.⁶ A number of Arabic books were printed in

5. On the incorrect and excessive use of punctuation see also Ḥabīb Ghazālāh, حروف التاج وعلامات الترقيم, RAAD 12(1932): 21-25.

6. The early French types for Arabic are illustrated in Cabinet des Poinçons de l'Imprimerie Nationale de France (Paris, 1948), which gives some details of when these were engraved and by whom. Alberto Vaccari, "I caratteri arabi della 'Typographia Savariana'," RSO 10(1923-25): 37-47, gives some information on early printing of Arabic in Italy.

Turkey during the eighteenth century, but printing in the Arab countries themselves does not have a long history. The first printing press in Egypt was that brought by the French expedition in 1798, but this remained in the country only until the French withdrawal three years later. Apart from one or two small hand presses used by monasteries for producing devotional books, the Arab countries then remained without any source of printed books until the Būlāq press was established in 1822 and the American Mission Press was moved to Beirut in 1834. The first privately owned press in Egypt was not founded until 1866.⁷

When the printing and publishing of books did become established in the Arab countries, the books produced tended typographically to resemble manuscripts. Each page or each column on a page would be surrounded with a ruled border, the hanging marginal notes of later commentators were

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7. For the early history of printing in the Arab countries see especially Louis Cheikho, تاريخ فن الطباعة في الشرق , al-Machriq 3(1900): 78-85, 174-180, 251-257, 355-362, 501-508, 706-716, 804-808, 839-844, 998-1003, 1030-1033, 4(1901): 86-90, 224-229, 319-325, 471-474, 520-524, 877-881, 5(1902): 69-76, 423-429, 840-844; Ibrāhīm 'Abduh, تاريخ الطباعة والصحافة في مصر خلال الحملة الفرنسية (Cairo, 1949); Jāmāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, تاريخ الترجمة والحركة الثقافية في عصر محمد علي (Cairo, 1951); and the third chapter of George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (London, 1938).

reproduced in type, and the illumination or other decoration of the finest manuscripts was imitated through the use of fancy rules and printers' flowers. The earliest printers did not, however, have two of the devices available to the scribe: colored inks and the ability to use different sizes of letters. By present-day standards, therefore, many of the books printed in the nineteenth century are neither typographically attractive nor easy to read and use. The same style and size of type are used without variation from beginning to end, there is little or no punctuation, and the absence of paragraphs leaves the page a uniform mass of lettering with no indication of transition from one topic to another. Even where paragraphs and paragraph headings are used, the fact that the latter are in the same type as the text detracts from the usefulness of these devices.

Since about the end of the nineteenth century, however, a new typographic style (based largely on European models) has been developing, and Arabic books produced since the first World War present an appearance very different from that of nineteenth century printed matter. The practice of surrounding each page or column with a ruled border has been abandoned. The marginal comments have been moved

to the bottom of the page and become footnotes, which are usually set apart from the text itself by the use of smaller type. The text is broken up into paragraphs, and this, together with the use of wider margins, not only makes it easier to read but also results in a more attractive page with a more pleasing and legible ratio between black print and white space. The transition from one section to another or from one topic to another is marked by the use of headings which are distinguished from the text by the use of a type of different size or style (ruq'ah is very often used for this purpose) or a bold face. In short, most of the conventional apparatus of modern European typographical style has been adopted for Arabic printing.

Some vestiges of the colophon at the end of the book remain in use, but in general this has been replaced by a title page of the modern European type showing the name of the printer and the place and date of publication as well as the name of the author and the title of the book. The style in book titles themselves has changed. They have become both shorter and more descriptive and it is no longer felt necessary to make them rhyme. A modern writer's history of Egypt, for instance, can be called simply Tārīkh al-Qaṭr

al-Miṣrī rather than Laṭā'if Akhbār al-Uwal fī man Taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min Arbāb al-Duwal. The first few pages of the book, furthermore, are likely to be devoted to a preface or introduction of the modern European type rather than to fifty or a hundred lines of involved metaphor built around the local ruler's resemblance to the tail of a comet.

Printing Types. The changes described above have resulted in a very considerable alteration in the appearance of printed Arabic books. They are, of course, primarily changes in the style and arrangement of printed matter rather than in the appearance or shape of the individual printed word. In spite of the quite considerable difficulties involved, in fact, the Arabic alphabet has been adapted with very little change to printing from type. A good Arabic type face produces a reasonable imitation of a calligrapher's naskhi hand. Such differences as exist are chiefly the result of the greater uniformity of the printed letters and of simplification - there are fewer special ligatures and final flourishes.

In addition to the naskhi which is used for most Arabic printing, type faces are available in the ruq'ah and Maghribi styles, Monotype produces matrices for a type it

calls "Solloss" (i.e., thuluth), and even Kufic and Farisi can be printed from type. The Arabic script, furthermore, has been adapted quite successfully to mechanical typesetting. Linotype, Monotype, and Intertype all provide matrices for

في عام في عام ١٨٩٧ وصل إلى إنجلترا أنموذجٌ مُستخدَثٌ لآلةٍ جديدةٍ كانَ المُخترِعُ
الأمريكيُّ تَلْبِرْتْ لَانْسْتُنْ قد ابتكرها من قبل. وهي آلة تقطع من سبائك الرصاص
البارد البارد أنواعاً مختلفة من الحروف المنفصلة بواسطة شريط من الورق المنقوب.
وبعدَ وبعدَ حينٍ توصل لَانْسْتُنْ والمهندسُ الكبيرُ جون سِلِرْز بانكروفت إلى تحسين
وإظهار وإظهار آلةٍ جديدةٍ. تسبك الحروف وتصفها في سُطورٍ مضبوطة على مقاساتٍ
معيّنة ثم أدخل عليها التحسين حتى أصبحت ماكينّة المونوتيب الحديثة.

Fig. 23. 'Monotype' Arabic Naskh Accented,
Series No. 589 (illustration reduced).

mechanical setting and casting of a considerable range of sizes and styles of Arabic type, and these are widely used in book production and of course in newspaper and periodical printing.

The problem of printing vowelled Arabic has not been entirely solved. Accurate and attractive vowelled texts can be set by hand, but only by using a very greatly enlarged font of characters. Linotype, Intertype, and a number of

hand set types employ a system whereby the vowels are set after the letters rather than above and below them. This greatly reduces the number of different characters needed, but the appearance of the resulting printed matter is not entirely satisfactory. Monotype produces matrices for the attractive vowelised face illustrated in Figure 23, but setting this involves a good deal of time-consuming and delicate hand work.

The Arabic alphabet has, of course, also been adapted to typewriting, and the typewriter is now a commonplace piece of equipment in most business and government offices in the Arab world. Some of the difficulties involved in making this adaptation have been discussed in Chapter III, where it was stated that the first Arabic typewriters did not come into general use until almost fifty years after the machine had come into use in America and Europe. Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī states that he saw an Arabic typewriter in Paris in 1895, but remarks that the printing produced by it was extremely unattractive.⁸ The first successful Arabic typewriter seems to have been the "Hilāl", produced about 1899 by Khalīl

8. Al-Yāzījī, آلة الكتابة , al-Diyā' 7(1904-05): 45-48.
See also his article آلة الكتابة العربية in al-Diyā' 5
(1902-03): 118-119.

Wākid. The inventor manufactured and sold a number of his machines, but it and its competitors and imitators do not seem to have come into general use until after the first World War.⁹

Wākid's first typewriter produced a vowelised print, and he is also stated to have produced a machine that could type both Arabic and the European languages. The average Arabic typewriter today, however, is without vowels; and adapting the letters to its limited number of keys has necessitated a fairly drastic simplification of the Arabic alphabet, including elimination of all or almost all ligature forms, reduction of the number of shapes each letter may have, and some distortion of the shapes of the letters. A text printed on a typewriter is therefore noticeably different from one printed from type, although not objectionably so. In spite of this simplification, however, the Arabic typewriter is mechanically more complicated than one equipped with the letters of the Latin alphabet and it is therefore more difficult to manufacture and to repair.

9. Fu'ād Wākid, *منهج الطالب ومرجع الكاتب في الآلات الكاتبة والطابعة* (Cairo, 1953) gives a brief history of the typewriter and illustrates fifteen different makes and models of Arabic typewriters and specimens of the printing produced by them.

With the advance of mechanization and automation in the field of business and elsewhere, the Arabic alphabet is now also being adapted for use with automatic calculating machines, the so-called electric and electronic brains. These machines require an even more simplified alphabet than

)	شفيق عبد الرؤوف الصبان	١١	((()
)	ش. مسيحة حبشي بالزيتون	١١	((()
)	عبد سب عثمان درويش	١١	((()
)	فيلا ش. بن الحكم بحلمية	١١	((()
)	الزيتون	١١	((()
(شركة مصر للهندسة	١١	((()
(والسيارات	١١	((()
(١٩ ش. البستان بالقاهرة	١١	((()

Fig. 24. Specimen of Arabic printed by an automatic business machine.

that used with the typewriter. Not only can far fewer different characters be used, but the nature of the machines makes it impossible to have two different units of letter width such as typewriters have. Figure 24 illustrates the results of one effort to make this adaptation. The machine by which this was printed is used by the Egyptian Directorate of Telephones and Telegraphs for computing and billing telephone charges in Cairo. It will be seen from the illustration that the alphabet used has only a single form for each

letter, that each letter occupies the same width in the line, and that some difficulty has been experienced in joining the connecting letters. The result is at least legible, but it is certainly far from attractive.

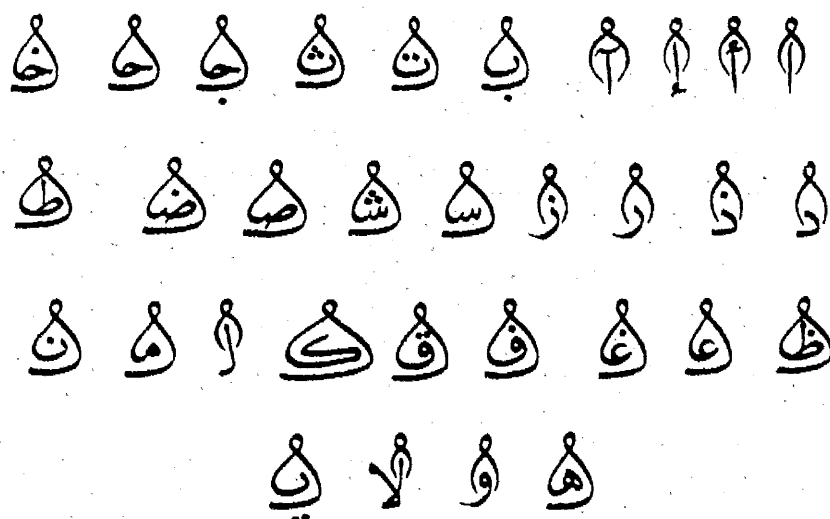


Fig. 25. The Hurūf al-Tāj, designed to serve as capital letters for Arabic.¹⁰

Changes in the Alphabet. With possibly one exception, the various minor changes resulting from the use of the printing press and the typewriter constitute the only alterations to the Arabic script that have taken place in the modern period. The single exception referred to is the system of so-called hurūf al-tāj illustrated in Figure 25. These were introduced by the Government of Egypt in 1932 and are intended

to perform the same functions as the upper case letters of the Latin alphabet. They have not come into general use in the Arab countries, but have had some use in Egypt, especially in Government publications.

Of the many more or less drastic schemes for reform of the alphabet that were described in Chapter III, none has been accepted by the public, nor does it seem likely that any of them ever will be accepted or come into general use. Prophecy is always hazardous, but it seems safe to suggest that if a deliberate change is ever brought about in the Arabic alphabet and accepted by the public it will come from efforts to solve the problems of printing Arabic rather than being based on any proposal to alter radically the shape of the letters, to add new letters, or to convert the vowels into full letters. Proposals such as those by 'Akāwī, al-Kirmilī, Khattar, and al-Nakadī, which were illustrated in Chapter III¹¹ have little or no chance of ever coming into use. The scheme suggested as long ago as 1893 by Ilyās Barakāt¹² is more practical and would have greater

10. Egypt, Ministry of Education, حروف التاج وعلامات الترقيم (Cairo, 1932), p.1
وموضع استعمالها على حسب النظام المعدل

11. See Figures 4, 9, 10, 12, and 14.

chance of acceptance, and the proposal put forward in 1903 by the alphabet reform committee of the Būlāq press¹³ seems also to have been aiming in the right direction. Maḥmūd Taimūr's proposal¹⁴ is also basically sound though perhaps too extreme, as there is really little or no mechanical or other advantage to be gained by separating the letters.

تتألف الأبجدية العربية من تسعة وعشرين حرفا ومع هذا فكل
نص ، مهما كان بسيطا ، يتطلب في تنضيد اللجو، الى
ثلاثماية شكل او ثلاثماية وخمسين شكلا من الأحرف
المطبعية . هنا انا كان مهيلا اما انا كان محركا اي
مشتغلا على حركات الصرف والنحو التي يضبط بها اللفظ
ازداد عدد هذه الأشكال ازديادا عظيما ذلك لأن الحرف الواحد
تختلف اشكاله باختلاف محله من الكلمة فهناك الأحرف
البدائية والمتوسطة والنهائية

Fig. 26. Deberny et Peignot's 16-point
'Caractère arabe Ghossoub'.

Any eventual reform of the alphabet, in other words, will probably be a "practical" one designed by and for typographers and printers rather than a "theoretical" one aimed at correcting the alleged phonetic or other deficiencies

12. See p. 65.

13. See pp. 65-66.

14. See Figure 5 in Chapter III.

of Arabic writing. At least three such practical reforms have in fact been devised, of which two are already in limited use and the third in the process of development. The type illustrated in Figure 26 is manufactured by Deberny et Peignot of Paris and sold as "Caractère Arabe Ghossoub" in six sizes from 8 point to 36 point with a bold face in each size. It successfully retains the essential characteristics of conventional Arabic type, but reduces the number of different characters to 65 (plus numerals and the usual punctuation marks and one optional ligature form for في). It also drastically reduces the descenders of letters such as ح and ع and thus makes possible closer setting of lines.

ولو كانت الاوضاع الدولية عادية ، لما نجحت المحاولة هذه
المرّة ايضا . ولكن قبول الاسكا قبل بضعة اشهر ، لاسباب
عسكرية ، جعل قبول هاواي ضرورة معاملة . ففي الحال
الاولى امتدت حدود الولايات المتحدة رسميا الى المنطقة
القطبية المجاورة للاتحاد السوفياتي ، وفي هاواي امتدت
حدودها الان الى قلب المحيط الهادئ ، وقفزت عشرة الاف كيلومتر
في اتجاه اليابان والصين الشعبية .

Fig. 27. A sample of Mrowa Linotype
Simplified Arabic.¹⁵

The type illustrated in Figure 27 was proposed by Kamel Mrowa, the publisher of the Beirut daily al-Hayāt. Matrices for it were designed and produced by Linotype and

Machinery Limited of London, and the type cast from these is now being used in printing al-Hayāt. As can be seen from the illustration, this alphabet represents a noticeable simplification of the conventional Arabic alphabet, and in fact it reduces the number of different characters required to about half the number included in one of the conventional Linotype faces. The typesetter can therefore operate with a considerably smaller keyboard and the process of setting type thereby becomes easier, quicker, and more economical.

يَسْمُ اللّٰهَ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ
يَتَطَلَّبُ طَبْعُ الْكِتَابِ الْعَرَبِيِّ
بِالشَّكْلِ التَّامِّ خَمْسَةَ وَسَبْعِينَ
وَأَرْبَعِينَ حَرْفٍ مِنَ الْحُرُوفِ
الْقَاتِنَةِ وَمَا يَزِيدُ عَلَى ثَمَانِينَ
حَرْفٍ مِنَ الْحُرُوفِ الْغَيْرِ الْقَاتِنَةِ
أَمَّا بِمَذِهِ الْحُرُوفِ الْجَدِيدَةِ
لِلْإِسْتِاذِ أَمْدُ الْأَمْرِ فَطَبَعُهُ

Fig. 28. Specimen of the simplified Arabic designed by Ahmad Lakhdar.¹⁶

A somewhat similar scheme is that announced in 1958 by Ahmad Lakhdar of the University of Morocco and now being further developed by the Moroccan Ministry of Education.

It is illustrated in Figure 28. Like Mrowa's alphabet and like the "Caractère Ghossoub", this is aimed primarily at reducing the number of different letter shapes needed for printing, but represents a considerably more drastic simplification of the conventional alphabet than does either of these. In addition, it aims to provide for printing with vowels without excessively increasing the number of different characters, and its inventor has succeeded in reducing to 67 (plus numerals and punctuation marks) the number of typesets needed for printing fully vowelled Arabic.

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15. Al-Hayāt, 15 March 1959. The information on the Mrowa type was kindly supplied by Mr. Walter Tracy of Linotype and Machinery Limited, London, who also furnished certain other information for use in this chapter.
 16. Al-Ahrām, 17 April 1959. See also "New Method for Printing Arabic," Library Journal 83(1958): 724.

Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

Modern Arabic consists essentially of the classical language (the Arabic of the dictionaries and grammars and of the classical literature) as that language has been modified during the past century and a half. These modifications of Arabic have affected chiefly the vocabulary of the language and to a lesser extent its grammar and idiom, and have occurred as a result of the influence of the various colloquial dialects, the effects of contact with modern Western civilization (with the consequent entry of foreign words and expressions into the language), and other factors. These have contributed to and augmented the natural processes of linguistic change and have resulted in the introduction of some new words and considerable numbers of new meanings. In addition, Arabic has to some extent been influenced and modified by the movement for language reform, which has been essentially reactionary in its nature and has tended to work in opposition to these modifying influences.

Character of the Reform Movement. The more orthodox and traditionalist of those who have written on the language problem are, of course, frankly and obviously reactionary

in their aim, which is to revive the language of classical times and maintain it with as little change as possible. It may seem contradictory that the more liberal supporters of a movement whose professed aims are "reform" and "modernization" of the language should also be described as reactionary. A closer examination of their objectives and their achievements will resolve the paradox, however, and reveal that almost all factions of the movement are in fact basically reactionary and retrograde in their aims and in their point of view.

The "reform" desired by the language reform movement is less a matter of modifying and improving the language to fit it for present-day needs than of returning to and reviving the language of classical times and of purging Arabic of the effects of foreign and other modern influences. The "modernization" sought by the reform movement, furthermore, consists not of bringing Arabic up to date by continuing its development with the language of the nineteenth century as a basis but rather of returning first to the Arabic of classical times and developing the language from there. The reform movement, in short, is essentially an expression in the field of language of that Arab infatuation with the

romantic myth of a glorious past that also appears in modern Arabic literature and in the field of politics.

Another facet of the language reform movement that deserves mention is that in some ways it is strongly nationalistic in character. The spirit of nationalism may be seen not only in the preoccupation with the ideal of an illustrious past which is somehow to be revived and reinstated, but also in that desire to maintain Arabic as a single language (and hence, it is hoped, the language of a single people) that lies behind the general opposition to any move toward using one of the colloquial languages for writing.

This nationalistic aspect of the reform movement shows itself even more clearly, of course, in the opposition to the use of foreign words and the generally expressed desire to eliminate them from the language. This is not merely a distaste for elements that are felt to be alien to the language, but often an active dislike of and opposition to anything foreign, and it is reflected in statements such as "A foreign word in the Arabic language is like a foreign soldier on Arab soil."¹ Furthermore, there seems

1. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, حاجتنا اللغوية الى مجمع يوثق به , al-Muqtataf 82(1933): 291-297

to be a belief on the part of a number of participants in the reform movement that "the foreigner" is somehow and from some unexplained motive deliberately trying to destroy the Arabic language. This almost paranoid suspicion of foreign influences is expressed in the recurring statements that "the Europeans are trying to destroy Arabic and substitute their own languages for it,"² that "Arabic must be defended against the attacks of foreigners,"³ that "the Arabs must protect their language against the attacks of foreign tongues in order to preserve their literature, honor, and national character,"⁴ and so forth.

This desire to expel foreign elements from the language is, of course, accompanied by an effort to substitute what is purely Arabic; and much is made of enforcing the use of Arabic by foreign business firms, of making the teaching of Arabic obligatory in foreign schools, of using Arabic as the language of higher education, and of making

2. [ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm], باب اللغة , al-Ustādh 1(20) (3 January 1893): 467-477. A similar statement is made by "Aḥmad" in رأى جمهور من الافاضل , al-Ustādh 1(11) (1 November 1892): 241-245.

3. Najīb al-Jāwīsh, لسان العرب لا يُمنع , al-Diyā' 4(1901-02): 326-328.

4. Anastās al-Kirmilī in RAAD 3(1923): 121.

Arabic the language of government and international relations. It is perhaps indicative to some extent of the character of the language reform movement that all such moves are directed only at the external aspects of the problem. In other words, while سيارة has been brought into use to replace the loan word اوتوموبيل, no one suggests that the automobile itself should be discarded; and great efforts are made to enable university courses to be taught in Arabic, but these courses remain entirely Western in derivation, content, and method of presentation. This is, of course, a reflection of the common human failing, by no means peculiar to the Arabs, of giving as much weight to the form and appearance of things as to their substance, of thinking that words are valuable in themselves, and of feeling perhaps subconsciously that the name of an object or idea is as important as the thing for which it stands. This tendency is seen reflected in the belief that after a change of government it is somehow a constructive measure of social reform to change شارع التحرير to شارع الملك, in the feeling that to refer to the Persian Gulf as the Arab Gulf changes the history and present status of that body of water and somehow conduces to the credit of the Arab peoples, and in the belief that it is a blow in defense of cultural "purity" to

to reject a foreign word while accepting without question the object or concept which that word represents.

Present State of the Language. It is difficult to judge precisely how much the present state of modern Arabic owes to the activity of the reform movement and to what extent it is simply the product of the natural growth of the language through the operation of the various other influences mentioned above. Certainly many, though not all, of the foreign words recently taken into the language have been adopted in spite of the expressed desire of the reformers to eliminate as many of such words as possible. Nor has the reform movement played any part in the development of new words such as مسئولية responsibility or new meanings such as تصفية liquidation or مخابرة communication.

On the other hand, the use of "classical" Arabic has undoubtedly increased in the past seventy-five years, and the credit for this belongs largely to the efforts of the reform movement. One of the major achievements of this movement, in fact, has been that it has created a widespread awareness of and interest in their language on the part of the Arabic-speaking peoples, and this has led in turn to a general desire to use good Arabic and to use it correctly.

The general standard of written Arabic today is undeniably higher than it was in the last quarter of the nineteenth century⁵ and Muṣṭafà al-Shihābī, for instance, declares that errors in usage have so decreased that it has become more difficult to find fault with modern writing:⁶

من المعلوم أن أغلاط الكتاب قلت في أيامنا هذه ، فأصبح
الانتقاد في عصرنا أصعب منه في عصر اليازجي .

Not only is the language now used with increased correctness, but there has also been a noticeable decrease in the number of foreign words used in writing. The typical weekly or monthly periodical of the 1880s or 1890s, for instance, contains a considerably greater proportion of foreign words than its present-day counterpart. It is noteworthy that of the several score foreign words listed by Jurjī Zaidān in 1904 as having entered the language in the nineteenth century⁷ the majority have already passed out of use and been replaced by Arabic words, and even a number of the words discussed by Wehr⁸ in 1934 have already become

5. On this point see, for example, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's address to the XVII Congress of Orientalists (Oxford, 1928), in RAAD 8(1928): 680-685.

6. RAAD 30(1955): 472.

7. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية (Cairo, 1904), pp. 50-54.

obsolete. It is likely that this is in large part a result of the awareness of the language that has been aroused by the writings of the reformers and of the resulting desire to write correctly and to eliminate foreign words.

This increased correctness in usage and the elimination of numbers of foreign words should not, however, be taken as indicating that the language has been fully modernized and that the task of the reformers has been accomplished. Arabic has undeniably undergone considerable modernization since the early nineteenth century and is capable today of being used to discuss a wider range of contemporary subjects than was possible a hundred years ago. By one means or another the language has succeeded in supplying words not only for the major inventions and ideas of modern Western civilization such as the قطار railroad train, طائرة airplane, بنسلين penicillin, شيوعية communism, and نظرية الكم the quantum theory, but also for a large number of its lesser blessings such as القبلة الذرية the atom bomb, ملكة الجمال the beauty queen, الوجودية existentialism, and طوق الهولاهوب the hula hoop; and the extent of publishing in the Arab countries today plainly shows that

8. Wehr, "Die Besonderheiten des heutigen Hocharabischen ..." MSOS 37(1934): 1-64.

the language is very much alive and is effectively serving as the instrument of modern civilization. A number of defects or shortcomings remain, however.

The most serious of these is that while the language can and does deal with government, commerce, education, sports, and a wide variety of other aspects of modern life satisfactorily and without resorting to undue numbers of loan words, it cannot yet discuss with equal facility all the intricacies of modern scientific theory or of complex technical subjects. This failing is due both to a lack of the necessary words and at the same time to an excess of words. The writer or translator either finds that there is no Arabic word for the complex chemical process or the component parts of the intricate mechanical device that he wishes to discuss, or he discovers that every writer who has previously dealt with the subject has used a different word and he is faced with choosing between five or six supposed equivalents in Arabic.

With the technical terms of some of the modern sciences, in other words, the situation at present is that there may be several different Arabic equivalents for a single European technical term or that the same Arabic word may be

used for a number of different technical terms. A very similar difficulty arises from the differences in the usage of words in different countries. The differences between the various colloquial dialects of Arabic are well known, but in addition there are some national differences in the written language.

The chief problem now confronting the Arabic language, in other words, is not the modernization of the vocabulary to meet the everyday needs of contemporary life. This has already been fairly successfully accomplished. Nor is it, as some of the reformers argue, the entry of excessive numbers of foreign or post-classical words into the language. Rather, it is the lack of a vocabulary for dealing with modern technical subjects that is sufficiently precise and that is generally accepted by the reading public of all the Arab countries. The language is still incapable of discussing such subjects with the precision and accuracy required in modern science and technology, and as long as this continues to be so the writer may still find that he can deal with his subject more satisfactorily in English or French.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The alleged deficiencies of Arabic and the problem of reforming and modernizing the language have aroused a great deal of interest and have been widely discussed in the Arab countries. Some indication of the extent of this interest and the intensity of the feelings aroused by the various points of view put forward may be gained from the amount that has been written and published on the problem during roughly the past seventy-five years. A good number of books on various aspects of the modern language have been published, and the number of articles in magazines and newspapers amounts to many hundred. A detailed bibliography of this mass of source material cannot be presented in the space available here, and these notes are therefore intended only to supplement the bibliographical references given in the text above and to indicate the main sources for research into the development of modern Arabic.

European Sources. By far the greater part of the writing on modern Arabic and the "language problem" has been in Arabic, and comparatively little has been published in Europe. Of the material available in the European languages the most important are probably the articles published in

1934 by Wehr¹ and in 1942 by Rizzitano². Wehr's article, now perhaps a little dated, describes the development of modern Arabic and gives something of the history of the language problem, but devotes its attention chiefly to the vocabulary of modern Arabic, with many examples. Rizzitano deals less with the language itself than with the development of the various schools of thought on the problem, and his article is especially valuable for the many bibliographical references it provides.

The article published in 1933 by Braune³ is primarily a literary history but also contains a section on the modernization of the language, with some remarks on the development of the reform movement and a number of examples of modern vocabulary. Much the same ground was covered in English in 1921-23 by 'Abd al-Rāziq.⁴

Other works dealing primarily with the language

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1. Hans Wehr, "Die Besonderheiten des heutigen Hoch-arabischen; mit Berücksichtigung der Einwirkung der europäischen Sprachen," MSOS 37(1934): 1-64.
 2. Umberto Rizzitano, "Discussioni e proposte per la riforma ortografica e grammaticale dell'arabo," OM 22(1942): 336-351.
 3. Walther Braune, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des neu-arabischen Schrifttums," MSOS 36(1933): 117-140.

itself rather than the reform movement include an inquiry into the grammar of modern Arabic published in 1931 as a doctoral thesis by Mainz.⁵ This is a useful work and perhaps the only one dealing exclusively with this subject; but some of the author's examples and conclusions may be open to doubt, since he has drawn his material from rather restricted sources. A long article on Arabic technical terms was published in 1956 by Bielawski.⁶ About half of this is a competent discussion of technical terms in modern Arabic, which appears to be based largely on the article by Wehr cited above and on the issues of the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus between 1948 and 1953. The foreword to Wehr's dictionary of modern written Arabic⁷ contains an excellent analysis of the present state of the vocabulary. An article on modern Arabic published by Brugsch and Kampffmeyer⁸

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4. M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq, "Arabic Literature since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century," BSOS 2(1921-23): 249-265, 755-762.
 5. Ernst Mainz, Zur Grammatik des modernen Schrift-arabisch (Hamburg, 1931)
 6. Józef Bielawski, "Deux périodes dans la formation de la terminologie scientifique arabe (la période classique et la période moderne)," Rocznik Orientalistyczny 20(1956): 263-320.
 7. Hans Wehr, Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart (Leipzig, 1952) 2 vols.

in 1926-27 consists largely of a catalogue of technical terms found in advertisements.

Of works in the European languages that deal with the language problem in general without attempting a detailed examination of the language itself, the most noteworthy are perhaps those published in 1936 by Bishr Fāris⁹ and in 1937 by Lecerf¹⁰. The former is primarily a discussion of modern Arabic literature but includes also some discussion of the language. Lecerf's article is a penetrating and extremely critical analysis of the reform movement and its aims. An article published in 1938 by Rafā'īl Nakhlah¹¹ deals chiefly with the relationship between written and spoken Arabic and is unsympathetic to any attempt to reform, modernize, or

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8. Mohammed Brugsch and Georg Kampffmeyer, "Arabische Technologie der Gegenwart," MSOS 29(1926): 1-98, 30(1927): 58-139.
 9. Bichr Farès, "Des difficultés d'ordre linguistique, culturel et social que rencontre un écrivain arabe moderne, spécialement en Égypte," REI 10(1936): 221-245.
 10. J. Lecerf, "Renaissance de la langue et de la littérature arabes," in Entretiens sur l'Évolution des pays de civilisation arabe (Paris, 1937), pp. 31-42, with "discussion" on pp. 42-48.
 11. Raphaël Nakhla, "L'arabe classique et les dialectes néo-arabes," En Terre d'Islam 13(1938): 15-25, 148-168.

otherwise develop the classical language. A brief article published in 1946 by Pellat¹² attempts to analyze the vocabulary of Arabic in terms of how much of the classical vocabulary is obsolete and how much of the current vocabulary is entirely modern, and the author calls for the compilation by some authoritative body of a dictionary of "modern classical" - that is, of words actually in use.

Arabic Sources. The single most useful book on the development of modern Arabic is perhaps Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī's al-Muṣṭalahāt al-ʿIlmīyah fī 'l-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah¹³. This ostensibly deals with scientific vocabulary only, but the author's definition of "technical term" is a very broad one and he gives much useful information on the language problem in general and on the development of the reform movement. Another useful but considerably older work is Jurjī Zaidān's Tārīkh al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah¹⁴. This is a history of Arabic from pre-Islamic times to the end of the nineteenth

12. Charles Pellat, "L'arabe, langue vivante," En Terre d'Islam 21(1946): 101-106.

13. Al-Shihābī, المصطلحات العلمية في اللغة العربية في القديم والحديث (Cairo, 1955).

14. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية، باعتبار أنها كائن حي نام خاضع لناموس الارتقاء (Cairo, 1904).

century, and the author attempts to list the new words or new meanings that entered the language in each of the periods of development that he discusses.

Apart from these two books, the writings on the subject in Arabic are so numerous that it is difficult even to select a few of the most outstanding works. It will perhaps be more useful therefore merely to indicate the main groups of sources and point out the principal writers on the problems of modern Arabic.

An almost indispensable source is certainly the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus¹⁵, now in its thirty-fourth volume. Over the years this has published a great number of articles on all aspects of the language and the problems connected with its modern development. The journal of the Academy of the Arabic Language¹⁶ is also a useful source. Each issue of the journal is divided into "official" and "unofficial" sections. The former records the actual work of the Academy, while the second and in some ways more interesting section offers articles by the members on a wide

15. مجلة المجمع العلمي العربي (Damascus, 1921 to date).

16. مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية (Title varies slightly) (Cairo, 1934 to date).

variety of topics connected with the language. The journal of the Iraqi Academy¹⁷ is also worth investigation, though it has had a shorter life than the journals of the other two academies and tends to concern itself somewhat less with literary and linguistic matters.

Three somewhat similar journals that deserve investigation are al-Muqtataf¹⁸, al-Machriq¹⁹, and al-Hilāl²⁰. These are all essentially magazines of general interest, but all have devoted a considerable amount of space to discussion of the language problem and two of them had editors, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf of al-Muqtataf and Jurjī Zaidān of al-Hilāl, who had a strong personal interest in the development of the language. The volumes of al-Manār²¹, edited by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, also deserve mention. In all these journals even the material that does not deal specifically with

17. مجلة المجمع العلمي العراقي (Baghdad, 1950 to date).

18. المقطف (Beirut, later Cairo, 1876-1950).

19. المشرق (Beirut, 1898 to date). An index to the first forty-four volumes (1898-1950) was published in 1952.

20. الهلال (Cairo, 1892-1955?). See especially the volumes published before the second World War.

21. المنار (Cairo, 1898-1936).

the language is valuable as an illustration of the development of modern Arabic.

The magazine Loghat el-Arab²², notwithstanding its title, was also primarily a magazine of general interest, but its editor Anastās al-Kirmilī did devote considerable space to discussion of the language and its problems. The two magazines al-Bayān²³ and al-Ḍiyā,²⁴ published by Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǵī also contain much useful material on the language. Of the newer learned and literary journals, al-Abhāth²⁵, al-Ādāb²⁶, al-Adīb²⁷, al-Risālah²⁸, and al-Thaqāfah²⁹ are particularly worthy of mention.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the periodicals that have published material on the modern language,

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22. لغة العرب (Baghdad, 1911-14, 1926-31).
 23. البيان (Cairo, 1897-1898).
 24. الضياء (Cairo, 1898-1906).
 25. الأبحاث (Beirut, 1948 to date).
 26. الآداب (Beirut, 1953 to date).
 27. الأديب (Beirut, 1942 to date).
 28. الرسالة (Cairo, 1933 to date?).
 29. الثقافة (Cairo, 1943 to date?).

but it includes the more important sources for research. The newspapers have also entered into discussion of the language problem and have published much material of the same sort as is found in the monthly and other magazines mentioned. Al-Ahrām, for instance, has reported the activities of the Academy of the Arabic Language in detail and in the years between the two World Wars published an average of one or two articles a week on some aspect of the language question.

The writers who over the past fifty to seventy-five years have dealt with the problems of modern Arabic in the journals mentioned above have been very numerous. Among those who have published most and who have made the greatest contributions not only to the development of the language but also to the discussion of its reform and modernization, the names of Muṣṭafà al-Shihābī, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, As‘ad Dāghir, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, and Muṣṭafà Jawād are especially noteworthy. Al-Shihābī's book on Arabic technical terms has already been mentioned. Among his many other writings an article published in 1952 in the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus³⁰ is especially worth while as a comprehensive discussion touching at least briefly on almost

every aspect of the language problem. His Dictionnaire ... des termes agricoles³¹ covers the technical terms of a far wider range of subjects than is implied by the title, and the introduction provides an analysis of the defects of the standard dictionaries and some discussion of the problems of modern vocabulary in general.

'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī led a long and active life and his writings on the language as well as on many other topics are numerous. His Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq wa-'l-Ta'rīb³² sets forth his own opinions as well as those of the classical grammarians and of various modern writers on methods for creating new vocabulary. His poll of scholarly opinion on questions of modern vocabulary has already been discussed in Chapter II above.³³ Among al-Maghribī's many other published works, his articles dealing with foreign idioms³⁴ and with the work of the various abortive or successful

30. Al-Shihābī, نهضة اللغة العربية للتعبير عن حاجات الحياة العصرية , RAAD 27(1952): 369-382. والتعليم العالي

31. Al-Shihābī, معجم الألفاظ الزراعية بالفرنسية والعربية (Cairo, 2d ed., 1957).

32. Al-Maghribī, كتاب الاشتقاق والتعريب (Cairo, 2d ed., 1947).

33. See pp. 38-39.

34. Al-Maghribī, تعريب الاساليب , RALA 1(1934): 332-349.

language academies³⁵, and his address to the Academy of the Arabic Language in February 1935³⁶ are especially useful.

As'ad Dāghir is probably best known for his book Tadhkirat al-Kātib³⁷, a compilation of errors of grammar and vocabulary found in current usage. Among his many other writings, one of the most useful is perhaps an article published in 1925 that offers a general review of the language problem and a summary of the main schools of thought on the question of language reform.³⁸

Another well known compilation of current errors is Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī's Lughat al-Jarā'id.³⁹ Among al-Yāziǧī's many other published works the most noteworthy are perhaps his articles discussing the problem of foreign words in

35. Al-Maghribī, مجامعنا اللغوية وأوضاعها, RAAD 23(1948): 308-315, reprinted in RALA 7(1953): 123-128.

36. RALA 2(1935): 16-20 and Mahḍar 2(1935): 12-16.

37. Dāghir, تذكرة الكاتب (Cairo, 1923).

38. Dāghir, اللغة العربية، هل هي كافية أهلها ووافية بحاجاتهم؟, al-Muqtataf 66(1925): 383-388, 499-505.

39. Al-Yāziǧī, لغة الجرائد. First published in al-Ḍiyā' 1(1898-99), revised and published in book form (Cairo, 1319), and later continued in al-Ḍiyā' 7 (1904-05) and 8(1905-06). See note 10 in Chapter II above.

Arabic⁴⁰ and the conflict between the classical and colloquial languages⁴¹, and a long article published between 1897 and 1903 which reviews the whole language problem, analyzes the shortcomings of the language, summarizes the differing points of view on the question of reform and modernization, and sets forth the author's own proposals for solution of these problems.⁴²

Muṣṭafā Jawād has published many articles on various aspects of the modern language in the journals of the Damascus, Cairo, and Baghdad academies, and a number of the unsigned articles in Loghat el-Arab are probably by him.

Loghat el-Arab, however, especially those parts dealing with the language, was largely the work of the prolific Father Anastās Mārī al-Kirmilī.⁴³ Al-Kirmilī published a

40. Al-Yāziǧī, التعريب , al-Diyā' 2(1899-1900): 449-456, 513-518, 609-614, 705-712.

41. Al-Yāziǧī, اللغة العامية واللغة الفصحى , al-Diyā' 4(1901-02): 257-265, 321-326, 353-357, 385-389, 417-424.

42. Al-Yāziǧī, اللغة والعصر , al-Bayān 1(1897-98): 145-150, 193-200, 251-254, 321-324, 353-357, 417-422, 449-454, 481-485, 513-517, 545-550, continued with the title العجاز in al-Diyā' 5(1902-03): 2-5, 65-69, 165-168, 197-200, 293-299, 357-359.

43. On the correct form of his name (al-Kirmilī, not al-Karmalī) see his note in LA 5(1927): 22.

vast amount of material on the Arabic language, not only in his books⁴⁴ but also in Loghat el-Arab and many other magazines and newspaper, and not only under his own name but also under a variety of pseudonyms.⁴⁵ Much of what he published, however, is of limited value to the student of modern Arabic. Al-Kirmillī was a man whose basic interest was originally the study of Greek and Latin words in Arabic. His interest in these led him eventually to the conviction that most of the major languages of the world were in some way at least partially derived from Arabic, and this belief unfortunately tended to color much of his later writing.⁴⁶ In addition, he seems to have been an embittered, short-tempered, and sometimes belligerent person, and a number of his writings on the language are marred by the fact that they are basically violent and often extremely personal attacks on other writers whose views did not happen to coincide with his own.⁴⁷ For a short biography of al-Kirmillī, with special emphasis on his activities in connection with the

44. Al-Kirmillī, اغلاط اللغويين الاقدمين (Cairo, 1933) and نشوء اللغة العربية ونموها واكتسابها (Cairo, 1938).

45. For a list of noms de plume used by al-Kirmillī see RAAD 23(1948): 614-615.

46. On this point see also pp. 150-151 above.

reform and modernization of the language, see the article published in 1929 by Rafā'īl Buṭṭī.⁴⁸

Jurjī Zaidān's history of the Arabic language has already been referred to in these notes, and his many articles on the language, especially in al-Hilāl, also deserve investigation. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, for many years the president of the Arab Academy of Damascus, was primarily interested in literary matters, but a number of his articles in the Academy's journal and elsewhere deal specifically with the language. Anīs al-Maqdisī's interests are also mainly literary, but he has also written on the problems of the language in al-Muqtataf, the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus, and elsewhere.

Muḥammad Sharaf, the compiler of what nearly thirty-five years after its publication is still the only comprehensive dictionary of Arabic medical terms⁴⁹, also wrote fairly extensively on the language problem. See, for instance, an article published in al-Muqtataf in 1929 that

47. See, for example, his attacks on Jabr Ḍumaṭ in LA 7(1929): 708-713 and on 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī in RAAD 11(1931): 226-236, 14(1936): 127-140.

48. Buṭṭī, حياة الاب انستاس ماري الكرملی وخدمته للعلم واللغة العربية , LA 7(1929): 60-66.

reviews the whole problem of modern Arabic vocabulary and summarizes the various views held on the problem.⁵⁰ Many of the other articles on language in al-Muqtataf, especially the unsigned articles, are by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, one of the founders and editors of al-Muqtataf and al-Muqattam and a prominent figure in the language reform movement.

Among the many other writers who have dealt with modern Arabic and the problems involved in reforming and modernizing it mention should also be made of Sa'īd al-Afghānī, Shakīb Arslān, 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī, Bishr Fāris, Anīs Furaiḥah, Mārūn Ghuṣn, Aḥmad al-Iskandarī, Shafīq Jabrī, Muḥammad Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Kawākibī, Edouard Murquṣ, Aḥmad Riḍā, and Khalīl al-Sakākīnī, and the works of these men should form part of any research into the development of modern Arabic

49. Egypt, Ministry of Education, An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences ... by Dr. Muhammad Sharaf (Cairo, 2d ed., 1928).

50. Sharaf, اللغة العربية والمصطلحات العلمية , al-Muqtataf 74 (1929): 123-127, 278-282.